BORDER-PIECES USED BY ENGLISH PRINTERS BEFORE 1641 [1]

By RONALD B. McKERROW

IN the title of this paper as given on the card of the Society's meetings its subject was described as ' border-pieces ', an expression the meaning of which is perhaps somewhat vague. Had I been sure that I should be understood I should have preferred to call the paper ' English compartments to 1640 ', using ' compartments ' in the somewhat odd sense which seems to have been introduced by Ames in his *Typographical Antiquities* of 1749, and which is now, I think, definitely recognized by most bibliographers—though not by the *Oxford English Dictionary*—as meaning any ornamental frame for a printed page, whether of one piece or of several belonging together, which does not consist merely of a number of repetitions of the same design. Thus a border of type ornaments is not a compartment, nor is a border made up of small separate woodcuts which have nothing in their design to link them together, but practically any other frame *is* a compartment. A few printers give trouble by their habit of frequently using a particular group of ornaments which have really nothing to do with each other except perhaps a similarity of style, in such a way as to form a frame. If

[1] Read before the Bibliographical Society, 21 January 1924.

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one tries to treat casual groups of this kind as compartments
(and I may mention that they are commonly so described)
one is faced by the difficulty that sooner or later the selection
and arrangement of the ornaments will be found to vary, so
that in the end one is compelled to treat the several portions
of the border separately—in fact to treat them as the separate
ornaments which they properly are. Towards the end of the
period we find also a certain number of ornaments, probably
metal and (some at least) of foreign origin, which were evi-
dently designed to serve several purposes and could either be
put together to form borders or head-pieces or used separately
as ornaments. But these are of little bibliographical impor-
tance and cause no real difficulty. With this explanation
I may perhaps be permitted to use the term ' compartment ',
whenever it seems convenient, to denote the form of book-
decoration with which I have to deal.

It is fortunately quite unnecessary that I should discuss
the early history of ornamental borders in printed books,
for we are only concerned with those used by the English
printers, and it is abundantly clear that the use of such
embellishments was suggested by continental practice. It
will be sufficient if I remind you of the borders used by
Erhard Ratdolt at Venice in the years 1477 and 1478, two at
least of which have perhaps never been surpassed in beauty
of design ; and point out that these antedate by several years
the first attempt at a regular border in English printing.
Nevertheless, there is one point of theory to which I shall
have to refer later, which can best be introduced by a brief
reference to origins.

It is of course evident that the foreign printers who first
used ornamental borders to their pages of type took the
notion from the presence of such borders in illuminated
manuscripts ; but it is worth while to consider how these
borders were used in the manuscripts. We can, I think,

divide the kinds of page decoration (apart from miniatures) with which we ordinarily meet, roughly, into three groups. In one group, about which we need say nothing further, the decoration consists of scattered ornaments at one side, or at top and bottom, or between the columns of writing, such ornaments not forming a complete frame to the text. Decorations of this sort were indeed imitated by some of the early printers, and have recently been revived in the work of some quite modern presses from the days of William Morris onwards, but not being 'compartments' they are not our present concern.

The other two forms of decoration consist of complete frames, but in one case the decoration is frankly marginal, filling all or the greater part of the white parchment or paper that is not occupied by the writing, while in the other case the decoration is rather to be considered as a frame round the text. Now the importance of this distinction is that if the decoration is regarded as a mere frame to the text, the four sides will be of approximately equal width, or the top and bottom may be of one width and the two sides of another; but in any case the width of the four segments of the border —inner, head, outer, and foot—will not be graduated as the four margins of a page ordinarily were. Consequently such a frame-border is properly treated as if it were all part of a type-page, and is placed on the paper in such a manner as to allow the usual gradation of white margins round it.

In the former case, however, the border is the margin itself, and the four parts of it vary in breadth in the way customary for margins, the inner portion, the portion nearest to the sewing or back of the book, being the narrowest, then the head, then the outer portion; the foot being widest of all; the width of the four being in some such proportion as 1, 2, 3, 4, or the less exaggerated and, I think, much preferable ratio of 1, 1½, 2, 3.

A 2

When this method is followed the border should of course
fill as nearly as possible the whole size of the paper, or if it
does not, should be placed so that in the finished and bound
book the margins round it are equal. It would obviously be
wrong to place it—or, one may add, a modern reproduction
of it—on a much larger paper in the position which it would
correctly occupy if it were a plain page of type, for this would
result in destroying entirely the intended proportion between
the type page and its surroundings.

It will be worth while to keep these two kinds of borders,
those which could be regarded as part of the type page and
those which were intended to occupy the margin, in our
minds while we study the English work; for it is evident
that the printers, or at any rate the designers, recognized the
distinction, at least vaguely, and we shall find examples of
both kinds.

I cannot pretend to have investigated the manuscript
practice in any but the most casual manner, but so far as my
observations extend the borders in the later illuminated
manuscripts, especially the French ones, and, I think, generally
the Italian, were definitely marginal; while in the Flemish
work there seems rather more tendency to the frame border;
but whether a full investigation would bear this out I cannot
pretend to say. The printed borders used by Ratdolt, to which
I have already referred, are also of the marginal type, though
the gradation in width of the four portions is much less than
was common in the manuscripts, the inner and top widths
being almost the same and the outer having slightly less and
the foot slightly more than double these measurements. It
may here be mentioned once for all that when this marginal
gradation was imitated in the printed borders the difference
in the four portions is hardly ever so great as was usual in the
manuscripts, the reason being perhaps that it was difficult, if
not impossible, to preserve in a broad printed border, especially

when printed in black, the lightness of effect so readily obtained by the illuminator. I think that those who are familiar with the borders used by William Morris in such books as the *Chaucer* and the *Golden Legend*, where the proportions of the four parts follow the manuscript tradition, will agree that the effect of a lower border some $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the width of the inner one is unpleasantly heavy.

One of the earliest of the English compartments, that used by Julian Notary, Jean Barbier, and I. H. in a Sarum *Horae* of 1497, is on the same lines as Ratdolt's, though very different in quality of design and execution, the inner and top portion being about the same, the outer slightly more than double this, and the foot about three times. This border has the narrow portion on the right, so was presumably intended for a verso page—a type which is decidedly rare.
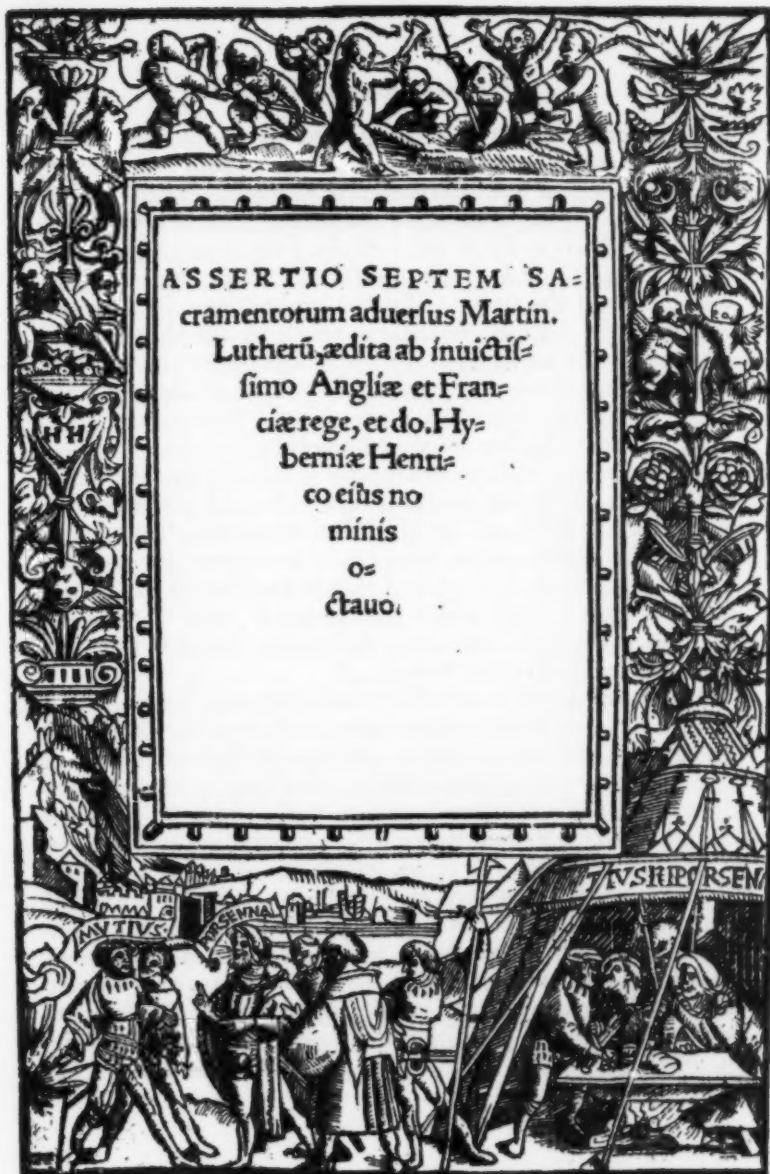
What seems, however—apart from borders made up of cuts or ornaments—to be actually the earliest of the English compartments, a simple frame of foliage and flowers used by Machlinia about 1484 and afterwards by Pynson, belongs to the other type, or rather to a sort of compromise between the two, having the sides and top of the same width and a broader piece at the foot. In after years the 'frame' system prevailed in this country and, save for one or two special groups to which I shall have to refer later, continued to be the normal one throughout the whole of our period.

Owing mainly to the disturbing influence of copies of continental designs of very various dates and origin, it would be difficult if not impossible to construct any methodical account of the development of design in English border-pieces, but nevertheless it is evident enough that in the century and a half with which I have to deal very great changes took place both in the character of the designs themselves and in the technique of the wood-cutting. A glance at the illustrations which accompany this paper will give some

idea of the very great difference in the general style of decora-
tion which prevailed in the first quarter and at the end of
the sixteenth century, and of a few of the chief *types* of com-
partment that were used, though of course there were many
others. Most of the ten compartments which are reproduced
represent a group which was probably the work of one designer
and perhaps of one wood-carver, and it may be of some
interest to discuss these groups briefly in their chronological
order. This will, I think, give a better notion of the develop-
ment of this form of decoration than if we were to concentrate
our attention on those compartments which are in themselves
most noteworthy either for their artistic merit or for the
importance of the book in which they appear.

The first group of which we need take account is the one
which begins with the well-known Mutius and Porsenna, or
Porsena, compartment (No. 1), which is found in at least nine
books between 1518 and 1548. The lower part of the border
illustrates two incidents in the story as told by Livy; in the
background is Rome, then being besieged by the Etruscans
under 'Lars Porsena of Clusium'; on the right hand the
Roman Caius Mucius Scaevola, who had entered the Etruscan
camp with the intention of slaying the king, is depicted as
stabbing the king's secretary in mistake for Porsena himself;
on the left he is thrusting his hand into a fire in order to
show his indifference to the king's threat of burning him
alive. The top of the compartment—and it is this rather
than the foot which is characteristic of the group—shows
a number of naked fat boys playing together, while the sides
have one of those designs of mingled foliage, grotesque heads,
cherubs, dishes of fruit, &c., which are so common at the
time and so completely defy description. On a shield on the
left pillar are the letters H. H., which stand, without any
reasonable doubt, for Hans Holbein the designer of the
original.

ASSERTIO SEPTEM SA=
cramentorum aduersus Martin.
Lutherū, ædita ab inuictis=
simo Angliæ et Fran=
ciæ rege, et do. Hy=
berniæ Henri=
co eius no
minis
o=
ctauo.

This compartment is a close copy, by a not very skilled cutter, of one which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was first used in a work of Aeneas Gazaeus, entitled *Aenei Platonici . . . de immortalitate animae*, printed by Johann Froben at Basle in 1516, and later by Froben in several other books. The English cutter has failed to reproduce the first two letters of the name ' Mutius ' on the front of the tent, which in the original are slightly veiled by the shading, and in place of the name ROMA which should appear on the wall of the town—above the word MVTIVS—he has merely a wavy line; but these, apart from the general coarsening of the design, seem to be the worst of his errors.

This Mutius and Porsenna border is perhaps the one found by Ames in an edition of the *Oratio in Pace* of Richard Pace, printed by Pynson and dated ' idibus Novembris ' 1518. No copy of this edition seems, however, to be at present traceable, and the earliest date at which I myself have found the border in use is 1521 ; after which it is found in each of the next four years, always in the hands of Pynson. Later it was used by Redman, Banks, and Powell.

The group to which the Mutius and Porsenna compartment belongs includes at least three others which must, I think, be the work of the same designer, and two at least of these look as if cut by the same wood-cutter. Presumably Herbert was right in classing the whole group as the work of Holbein, though absolutely definite evidence on the point seems to be lacking. One of the three, which has at top a medallion faced to the left between two sphinxes, and at foot naked boys in procession to the left carrying one on the shoulders of six others, which seems first to have been used in England by Thomas Berthelet in 1530, is a close copy of a border used by Froben at Basle in the *Epigrammata* of Erasmus appended to the 1518 edition of More's *Utopia*, and also in the *Aliquot epistolae* of Erasmus printed in the same year.

This therefore at least we may with some confidence attribute
to Holbein, who was certainly designing borders for Froben
at that date, though the block seems to have no trace of
a signature.   Another member of the group, which has at
foot naked boys in procession to the right, two of them
riding in panniers on an elephant, I have—up to the present—
been unable to find in any of Froben's books, but Mr. Ferguson
has kindly referred me to examples of the use of the design
by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten at Antwerp in 1522, and
in 1533–4 by Joh. Hoochstraten at Malmö.   As, however, the
compartment was used by Pynson in 1521, it cannot have
been copied from any print of the Hoochstraten block known
to us, so that it is quite possible that this compartment also
had a Basle original.   In passing I should like to mention that
in the procession of boys at the foot of this compartment the
last boy is carrying a banner which appears to bear on it the
letters V o J F, the o being smaller than the other letters
and possibly intended for a stop.   I am quite unable to inter-
pret these letters, and should be grateful for assistance.   The
J. F. might of course be Froben's initials—if the border was
ever his—but what is the V ?

The last border of the group, also in very similar style,
shows at the foot a number of children and dogs attacking
a bear, and at the top the dead bear being carried on a sort
of truck.   This was used in 1525 by Treveris in Braunschweig's
Noble Handiwork of Surgery, and again by Treveris in 1527 in
Higden's *Polichronicon*, but, so far, I have been unable to
trace it to any foreign origin.   Had its first use been a year
later, one might have suggested that Holbein designed the
compartment for Treveris during his residence in England,
but he does not seem to have arrived here until 1526.

Another border of about the same date but with rather
less marked resemblance in style seems also to have been
copied from one of Froben's, by whom it was used at Basle

in 1518. This had at top two shields containing the arms of
the Empire and Froben's device, and at foot two winged
boys holding the ends of a garland or wreath. The design
was used by Pynson in 1519 and frequently afterwards. In
Pynson's hands the shields at the top were left blank, but
Powell, who used it afterwards, in 1552–7, inserted his
initials, W. P., in them. It was last used, so far as I have
found, by Thomas Marshe in 1561.

The influence of these elaborate and somewhat heavy
borders may be seen in one or two others of about the same
date, but very soon afterwards we find a reaction in favour
of much simpler designs. It seems evident that a light octavo
border used by Berthelet in 1531 (Dr. Greg's Berthelet
Border D), which has at the top a half-length figure of our
Saviour with his right hand raised in blessing, was the work
of the same man who designed the frame with Byddell's
device at the foot and a figure of the sun at the top, though
this has not been found until some years later. There are
also two other borders dating respectively from about 1531
and 1542 which are similar in general character, though they
are much better cut.

A troublesome little group of four octavo borders may be
mentioned next. They consist of two pairs which have
indeed no great resemblance in detail, but which are suffi-
ciently alike in general character to warrant the suspicion that
they were designed by the same person. Each of the pairs
consists of an original and a somewhat altered copy. The
oldest of the group, here reproduced as No. 2, is the well-
known Berthelet Border (Dr. Greg's Berthelet F), which has
the date 1534 in the centre of the lower panel, and which
has given a good deal of trouble by its appearance in undated
books, with the result that they have often been wrongly
attributed to that year. As, however, it occurs in books as
late as 1560 with this date still in position, it is clear that no

importance whatever can be attached to it. I have notes of
its appearance in at least twenty-seven books before 1560,

THE
BOKE
N A-
med the Gouernour, De=
uyfed by fyr Tho-
mas Elyot
knyght.

1534

2 (1534)

after which date it seems to have had a rest of more than
sixty years, to turn up again—the date 1534 at last cut out—
as an empty frame on the verso of the title-page of Richard
Allestree's *Almanac* for 1624. One wonders what, if any, was

the purpose of its use there ; for it oddly suggests the modern habit in certain kinds of ' pretty ' books of providing a decorated panel for an owner or donor to write his or the recipient's name.

The most interesting point about this block is, however, the question of the material of which it was made. I fear that this will lead us into a short digression, but the point has to be dealt with, and it seems better to deal with it here than to recur to it later. Dr. Greg has pointed out that this particular 1534 block shows only general signs of wear without definite breaks up to 1560, and has therefore suggested that it was made of metal. The block still shows only general signs of wear in 1624, though it has been damaged by rough usage, and what is much more important shows neither cracks nor worm-holes. It seems hardly likely that a wooden block should have lain unused for some sixty-four years without being attacked by worms, but I confess that I should like to have some really satisfactory evidence that blocks of this kind were ever cut in metal. We know, of course, that in later years many of the ornaments were cast, and there seems no reason for doubting that sixteenth-century engravers were capable of cutting a block on a lump of type metal if they so desired. I may mention that only a few weeks ago Mr. Emery Walker (with whom one never talks without learning something of interest in one's own particular subject) told me that when he began work in London there used to be a considerable trade in the cutting of blocks in white metal or pewter, mainly for labels and other things of which it was desired to print large numbers. Nowadays, of course, this hand-cutting has been entirely superseded by photographic processes. But to return to the sixteenth century : on the one hand we have the apparent possibility of blocks being cut in metal, and the fact that some few blocks—mostly, by the way, small ones—show little sign of wear after long use

and neither cracks nor worm-holes; on the other hand we know for certain—from the evidence of cracks and worm-holes—that the great majority of the borders were cut on wood, and it is not easy to see why if metal were recognized as a possible material its obvious advantages in the matter of wear did not bring it into progressively greater use. Then, too, a great deal in the apparent wear of a block—apart of course from definite ' breaks '—depends on the paper and printing, and I have seen instances of blocks which in the hands of one printer appear to be very badly worn, giving, later, much fresher impressions in the hands of another. On the whole it is, I think, probable that some of the blocks of the first half of the sixteenth century were cut in metal, but, as I have said, I should be glad of definite proof.

This ' 1534 ' border was closely copied in 1537, apparently by John Gowghe, who, however, had the wisdom to leave the date-panel open for the insertion of figures in type. This copy was used many times until about 1582, generally with a date on the panel, but in or about the year 1550 with the letters N. H., standing for the name of Nicholas Hill. From about 1555 to 1582 it was frequently used by John Kingston.

The other pair of octavo compartments is distinguished by having figures of seated boys half-way up the sides. The original form (see No. 3), which belonged, as did the 1534 compartment, to Berthelet (Dr. Greg's Berthelet Border G), had three cherubs' heads at the base. It was used from 1537 to 1553 by Berthelet, and later by Tottel, and apparently by Petit. After 1555 this border also had a long rest, but it turns up again in 1617 in the possession of John Beale.

The fourth member of the group is a rather rough copy of this—or at least of the top and sides—which was used by James Nicholas of Southwark in or about 1537, and by John Mayler in 1542–3. It had a sill with the letters I. N.

During the next few years we find rather a puzzling variety

of styles, and though we can easily detect several groups, the members of which were almost certainly due to the same
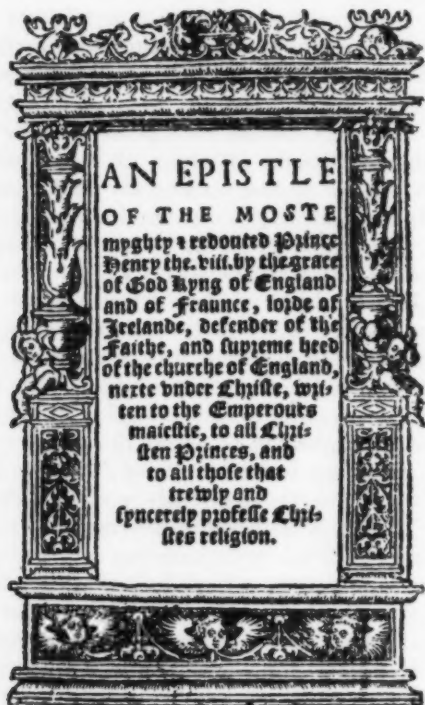
3 (1537)

designer or cutter—such, for example, as most of the compartments used by Whitchurch, and a small group of borders containing little pictures—to discuss the relationship between them would require a large number of reproductions, and we

must therefore pass them over. Several have already been traced to foreign sources, and I believe that several others will eventually be so traced. Two borders of the period seem, however, for different reasons to deserve particular mention. One is the large compartment with the arms of Queen Catherine Parr and the letters E. W. at the foot, which was first used in 1548, by Whitchurch, in the *Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the New Testament.* I reproduced this border in *Printers' and Publishers' Devices,* but without discovering the only interesting thing about it. This, which was recently pointed out to me by Mr. Ferguson—and I afterwards found that Mr. Pollard had long known all about it—is the strange fact that six years after its first use in England a very close copy of it appeared in a book printed in Mexico. The copy follows the original in having Whitchurch's initials at the bottom ; but the Royal Arms at the top and Queen Catherine Parr's below have been replaced by others.[1] I may say that though the copy is in most respects a remarkably close one, there is no doubt whatever that it is a copy and not the original block. This is the solitary instance that I have been able to discover of an English design being imitated abroad ; the indebtedness in all other cases being in the opposite direction.

The other compartment from this period which I wish to mention is again one of Berthelet's, and again one which Dr. Greg thinks to have been cut in metal, but this time is in quarto size (Dr. Greg's Berthelet Border I : here reproduced as No. 4). It seems first to appear in 1543 in the *Necessary Doctrine for any Christian Man,* and represents a doorway with a small head of Medusa above, an armless terminus on each side, and a shield supported by two sea-horses below. The design is somewhat fussy and by no means beautiful, and

[1] See reproductions in J. García Icazbalceta's *Biographia Mexicana del siglo XVI,* 1886, facing pages 46, 90.
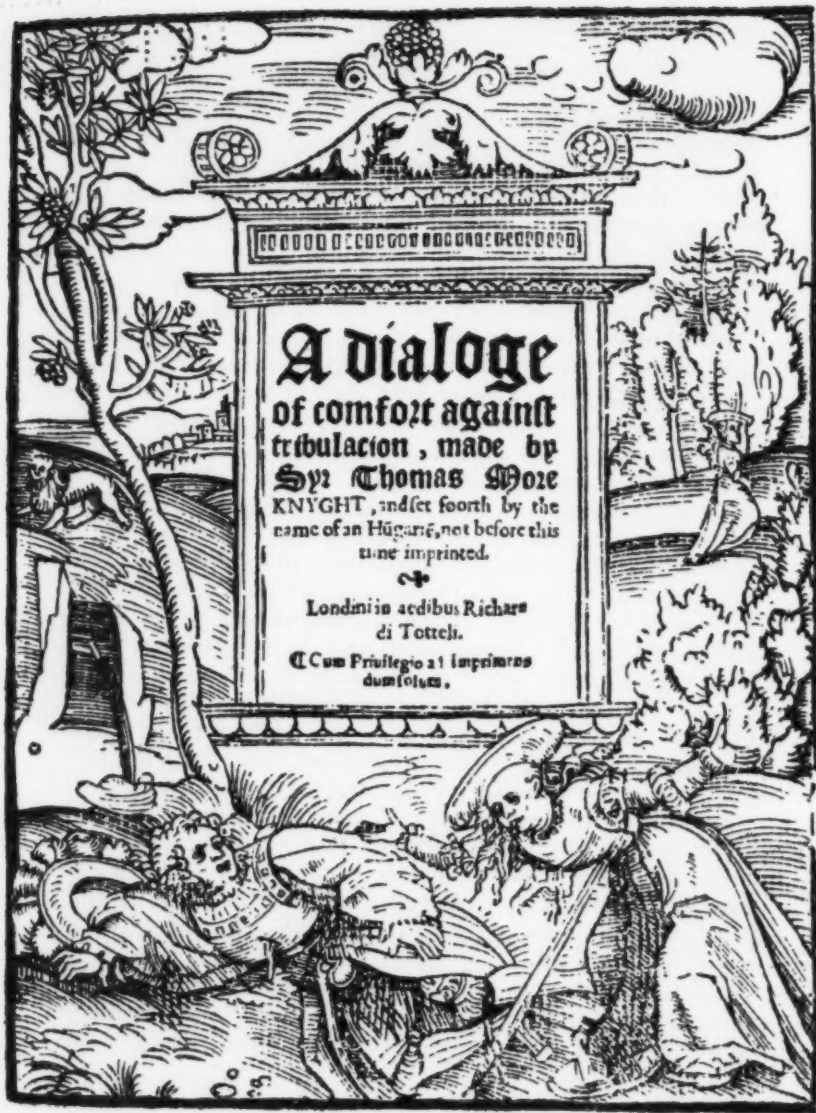
PIA ET CATHOLICA CHRISTIANI HOMINIS INSTITVTIO.

LONDINI.

APVD THOMAM BER=
THELETVM.

ANNO. M. D. XLIIII.

TB.

the majority of prints of it are very bad, but the rare decent prints (I have never seen one that can be called good) seem to me to show a much greater skill in the cutting than we meet with in any other compartment of the date. Especially noticeable is the fineness of the lines of shading in certain parts. Indeed so noticeable is the difference in this respect from most of the contemporary work that I cannot help thinking that if any borders of the period were cut in metal, this must undoubtedly have been one, and it is certainly significant that neither cracks nor worm-holes are to be seen in the block as late as 1567, after twenty-four years of use. Probably the cutting was very shallow and the block was ill-suited to the somewhat haphazard work of the printing-houses of the day. Hence the general unsatisfactoriness of the result.

I mentioned a short time ago certain compartments which included little pictures. It is difficult to find examples of these which are altogether satisfactory for reproduction, but compartment No. 5 may serve as a reminder of their existence. This, which is perhaps the oddest compartment of the whole period, was used by Richard Tottel in the 1553 edition of the *History of Quintus Curtius* and elsewhere. As may be seen, it gives a most remarkable interpretation of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, noteworthy not only for the ultra-fashionable costume of the characters, but for the very primitive double-timing of the design, which apparently represents in the upper part Thisbe approaching and the lion retiring, while in the lower part Thisbe is finding Pyramus. Such combining of two incidents in one picture with one or more of the characters repeated is of course common enough in primitive art—indeed we have it in the Mutius and Porsenna border—but the middle of the sixteenth century is surely somewhat late for it. The curious object to the left may perhaps be what Francis Flute, the bellows-mender of Athens, called Ninny's tomb—or is it the wall through the

B

A dialoge

of comfort against
tribulacion , made by
Syr Thomas More
KNYGHT , and set foorth by the
name of an Hūgarē, not before this
time imprinted.

Londini in aedibus Richar-
di Tottell.

Cum Priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.

5 (1553)

chink of which the lovers whispered? Would it, by the way, be too fantastical to suggest that even the Elizabethans, little as they were troubled by anachronisms, may have found such an interpretation of the story somewhat comic, and that memories of this title-border, once seen and laughed at, may have come back to Shakespeare when he wanted an absurd old tale for his rustic performers in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*?

Tottel, I may mention, had another compartment evidently designed by the artist of his Pyramus and Thisbe one—a curious arrangement of cherubs and a couple of stags, but being apparently without any definite meaning, it is somewhat less absurd. Both these borders have a certain likeness to German work of a somewhat earlier date, and I should not be at all surprised to learn that they have foreign originals.

We now come to a group of eleven borders which seem to have been cut for Thomas Becon's *Pomander of Prayer*, printed by John Day in 1558, where one or other of them is used as a frame for every page throughout the book. In *that* book indeed they are not title-page borders at all—the title itself has a compartment which does not belong to the series— and they may therefore seem hardly to come into my subject, but as at least four of them were afterwards used on title-pages in other books, including the one here reproduced (No. 6)—and as others may have been—it is impossible to ignore them, especially as they have a peculiarity which so far as I know is unique in English work of the time. Hitherto, with very few exceptions, all the borders have been what I have called frame borders, as distinct from marginal borders; that is, they are regarded as part of the type-page, and the type is centred within them. In these, however, the inner margins are not more than two-thirds of the width of the outer ones. But not only this; the draughtsman has apparently noticed that, on account of the curve of the leaf towards

SAINT AV-
ſtens Manuell, oʒ
litle Booke of the Con=
templation of Chꝛiſte, oʒ of
Gods woʒde ; whereby the re=
membꝛaince of the heauen=
ly deſires which is falne
a ſleepe may be quick=
ned vp agayne.

AT LONDON

Printed by Iohn Daye
dwellyng ouer Al-
derſgate.

1574.

¶Cum gratia & Priuilegio
Regiæ Maieſtatis.

6 (1558)
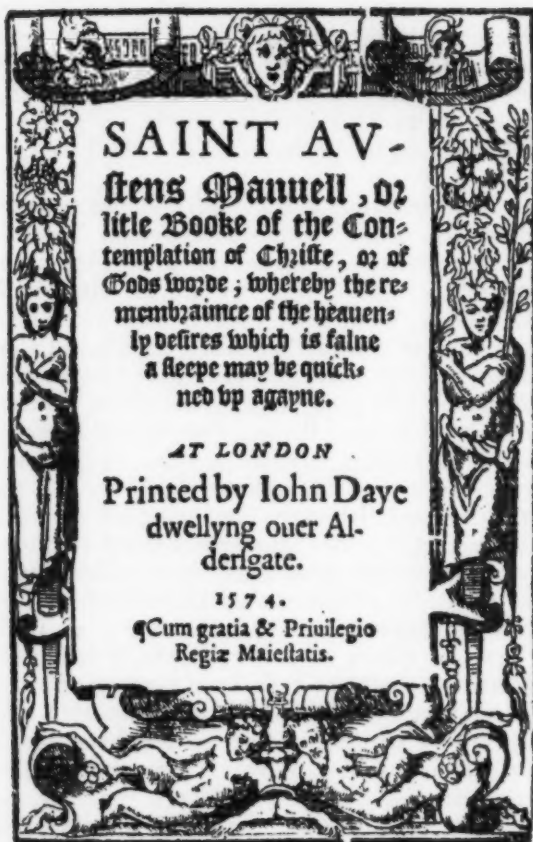
the sewing, a symmetrical frame is, in a bound book, actually seen as distorted on the inner margin, and he has therefore proceeded to condense and indeed actually to distort his figures on the inner margin—with the natural result that in the bound book they appear more distorted than ever. In almost every other case where the inner side of a compartment is narrower than the outer one the design itself on that side is simplified. Here we have practically the same design on both sides, that on the inner being merely condensed as if foreshortened.

It is worth noticing that a quarto compartment evidently the work of the same hand, which was used by Day in 1561, and several times later, as a title-border, has the two sides of equal width. This, however, being used for title-pages would always face a blank. It may seem a wild theory to those who regard the sixteenth-century printers as workmen of the baser sort who had forgotten that printing was an art, but I cannot help suspecting that there was something behind this, and that Day, or his designer, deliberately regarded the two pages of a book forming an opening as the unit for ordinary purposes, but entirely disregarded a blank, holding that a page facing a blank should be centred as if the blank page did not exist. And if so, I am by no means sure that they were wrong.

Up to the year 1559, none of the compartments known to me bears any signature of designer or wood-cutter, with the single exception of that representing the Mutius and Porsenna story, which, as we have seen, had the initials of Hans Holbein. From 1559 onwards, however, we meet with a certain number of signed ones. Unfortunately, these signatures are little more than an added difficulty, for in almost every case they consist of initials alone, and so scanty is our knowledge of the men engaged in this work at the period that identification is hardly ever possible. Very

occasionally a guess can be made, but in hardly a single instance can we do more than guess.

The first of these signed compartments is the very remarkable one before William Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glass*, printed by John Day in 1559 (No. 7). This, which is one of the most elaborate and skilfully executed compartments of the whole century, is signed I. B. F., a signature which also occurs, exactly as here, in the very elaborate plan of Norwich which is included in the book. The last two letters are separated by a mark which looks somewhat like one form of ampersand, but which is perhaps intended for a period. In that case we may assume I. B. to stand for the designer's name, and F for 'fecit', an interpretation rendered probable by the fact that I. B. occurs on other cuts in the volume— one or perhaps two large initial letters and a cut of a globe. I cannot, however, learn that I. B. has been even conjecturally identified, and the only suggestion that I can make is that he may possibly have been the John Betts, mainly known as a miniaturist, who, according to a somewhat obscure passage in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*,[1] had some connexion, either as designer or engraver with the pedigree in Hall's *Chronicle*, which also is in the form of a title-compartment. The compartment which we are discussing is, I may mention, the one with the bearded figure of Mercury, which was referred to in the paper read before the Society in November as being used in the 1570 edition of *Euclid*, also printed by John Day.

In the next year, 1560, we find a very elaborate military compartment used in Machiavelli's *Art of War*. This has the signature R. S., but the meaning of these initials also is unknown to me. I have great hopes that some of those who know more of the history of sixteenth-century art than I do, may be able to assist me in these matters.

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[1] *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, iii. 377. Besides John Betts an engraver (?) named Tyrral is mentioned.

Ptolomæus

Marinus

Aratus

Strabo

VIRESCIT VVLNERE VERITAS

THE COS-
MOGRAPHI-
cal Glaſſe, conteinyng
the pleaſant Principles
of Coſmographie, Geogra-
phie, Hydrographie,
or Nauigation.

Compiled by VVilliam
Cuningham Doctor
in Phyſicke.

Excuſſum Londini in officina
Ioan. Day Typographi.
Anno. 1559.

Hipparchus

Polibius

Geometria

Astronomia

In this Glaſſe if you will beholde
The ſterry Skie, and Yearth ſo wide,
The Seas alſo, with windes ſo colde,
Yea and thy ſelfe all theſe to guide:
What this Type meane firſt learne a right,
So ſhall thy gayne thy trauaill quight.

Arithmetica

Musica

MERCVRIVS

We now come to quite an important group of borders which are apparently all the work of a wood-cutter who occasionally signed them with the initials C. T.   I shall later make a suggestion as to who this person may have been, but in the meantime we will call him by his initials.

These initials seem first to appear in 1571, when they will be found at the base of a very elaborate compartment of a ruined árch having at the foot a small oval picture of a dragon, which another, panther-like, beast has got by the throat, with the motto *Non vi sed virtute.*   I strongly suspect, by the way, that the same artist and wood-cutter were concerned in a certain elaborate architectural compart-ment which was used in the previous year, 1570, in the *Flores Historiarum* of Matthew of Westminster, though the cutting of this is a little less successful, and so far as I have been able to discover there are no initials.   I may say, in passing, that these engravers' or designers' initials sometimes require careful search.   They are generally small, and in a badly inked print may be quite illegible.   In the case of the 1570 compartment, though the design is quite an effective one, it seems par-ticularly difficult to find a decent print.   All that I have seen are over-inked and smudgy.

Three years later than the first appearance of these initials we find C. T. concerned in some title-page borders of a very different character, and it is this group which from its extent is particularly interesting.   It includes, among others, the pair of elaborate borders which contain the devices or rebuses of six printers, namely Barker, Norton, Dewes, Wight, Harri-son, and Watkins, the smaller of which was used by the assigns of Francis Flower in the *Liber Precum Publicarum* of 1574, and the larger in certain grammars a few years later.[1] Unfortunately, of this larger one, which must have been excellent when first cut, I have never been able to find a

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[1] These are reproduced in *Printers' Devices* as Nos. 169, 171.

satisfactory print. In those known to me the block is already cracked and badly worn. In these two compartments we find the initials C. T. at the foot on the right hand, while to the left we find the initials R. B.

Now one noteworthy point about these two borders beside the general character of the designs, which is quite different from anything to be met with earlier, is the use of a background of fine short lines, such as may be seen in the small pictures in illustration No. 8. Quite an important proportion of the borders and miscellaneous ornaments which first appear about this time—say from 1574 to 1590—have similar backgrounds and such general resemblance in style that we may, I think, fairly suppose them to have been the work of the same man or men. The example here given represents one member of what is perhaps the most noteworthy series of the C. T. borders, a set which were presumably designed for, and of which five were used in, Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrons containing seven several Lamps of Virginity*. The 'Lamps' form separate sections of the work, and of these the first five were printed in 1582, by Henry Denham, and the sixth and seventh in the same year by Thomas Dawson. Each of Denham's five Lamps has a different compartment, all five being in the same style with four little pictures or figures, two on each side. Dawson's two Lamps, however, had no similar borders. One had an old compartment dating from 1566, or perhaps considerably earlier, the other no compartment at all.

The odd thing is, however, that there apparently were *seven* borders of this same series—at any rate in the same general style, though perhaps not so exactly similar as those of Lamps 2–5, which have almost identical figures. I have not found the missing two in other books of Denham, but one was used entire by Peter Short (to whom much of Denham's material passed) in 1599, and parts of another were used by other printers. These borders had a long and

נודרה

THE
SECOND Lampe OF
VIRGINITIE:

Conteining diuers godlie Medita-
tions, and Christian Praiers made
by sundrie vertuous Queenes, and
*other deuout and godlie wo-
men in our time :
and first,*
A
Godlie MEDITATION of the in-
ward loue of the soule towards Christ
our LORD : composed first in French
by the vertuous Ladie Margaret Queene
of NAVARRE : aptlie, exactlie, and fruitfullie
translated by our most gratious Souereigne Ladie
Queene ELIZABETH, in the tender and
maidenlie yeeres of hir youth and virgi-
nitie, to the great benefit of
Gods Church, and comfort
of the godlie.

¶ Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham,
dwelling in Pater noster Rowe,
at the signe of the Starre.

1582
Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

Q.ELIZABETH.

Q.HESTER.

Q.KATHERINE

Q.MARGARET.

rather involved history, which I cannot pretend to have worked out fully, and parts of them—especially the top pieces—turn up in all sorts of unexpected places until well on in the seventeenth century.

None of the borders used in the *Monument of Matrons* seems to have any signature, and it is only on the evidence of general style that we can attribute them to the C. T. of the *Liber Precum Publicarum* compartment, but we find these same initials in perhaps the most elaborate of all the borders of the time, the folio compartment with the Paschal Lamb at the top and the date 1574 below. In spite of its date, however, I have been unable to find it earlier than 1583, in which year it was used for *The Commonplaces of Peter Martyr*, printed by Henry Denham. In this compartment the initials appear in the form of a monogram, and might therefore be T. C., and the compartment also bears the initials N. H., presumably those of the designer, who might possibly have been Nicholas Hilliard, one of the best-known artists of the time, though not, so far as I can ascertain, known to have engaged in this particular kind of work.
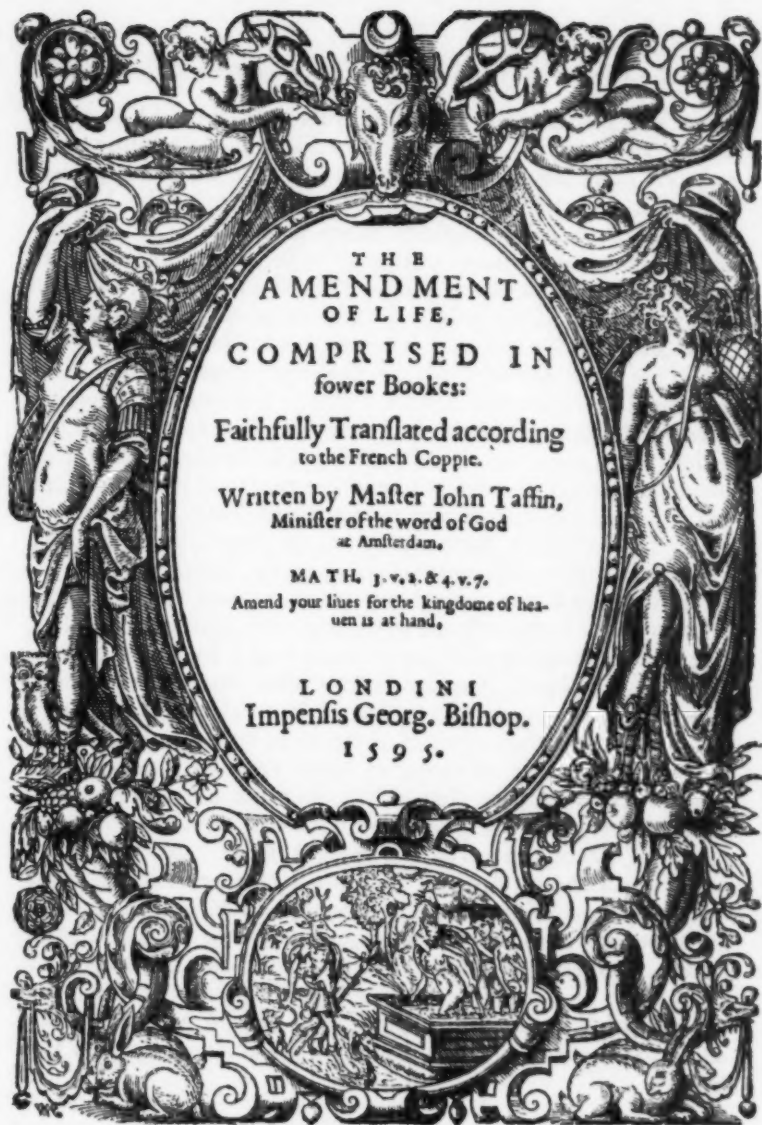
I do not know that any one has tried to identify this C. T., and it is improbable that this could be done with certainty. Nevertheless it seems worth while to suggest that he, at least, may have been a certain Charles Tressell, Treasure, or Tressa, whose name occurs in 1571 and later years in the Returns of Aliens printed in Mr. Worman's book. In 1571 this person was described as a graver of letters for printers, which might mean that he cut type punches, but in 1582–3 he is called a ‘ carver to the printers ’, which, I think, can hardly mean anything else but a cutter of wood-blocks. The identification is, however, of course only a guess, and must remain as such until more information comes to light about him.

Other signed compartments include a rather elaborate one with a stag's head at top, and at foot a little picture of Actaeon

being transformed into a stag, which seems to have been first used in 1595. This is signed at the left-hand lower corner with the initials W. R., which, it has been suggested to me, may stand for the name of William Rogers, known as an engraver in copper. It is here reproduced (No. 9), partly because I was pleased at coming across a quite decent print of a compart-ment which is difficult to find in even moderately good con-dition, and partly because in general style it fairly represents a type of border of which there are several examples about this date. Some of these were made for particular books and have reference to the subject dealt with. There is, for example, one of horses for a book of Markham's on horsemanship ; one of ships and men taking soundings and (apparently) reading the height of the sun for a book on trigonometry ; and there are others of the same type, though their subject seems to have no bearing on the books for which they were used, such as one representing vine dressers and mowers, used in the collected works of the surgeon, John Banister, and the present one which one would guess to have been intended for a book on hunting rather than for one on the ' amendment of life '.
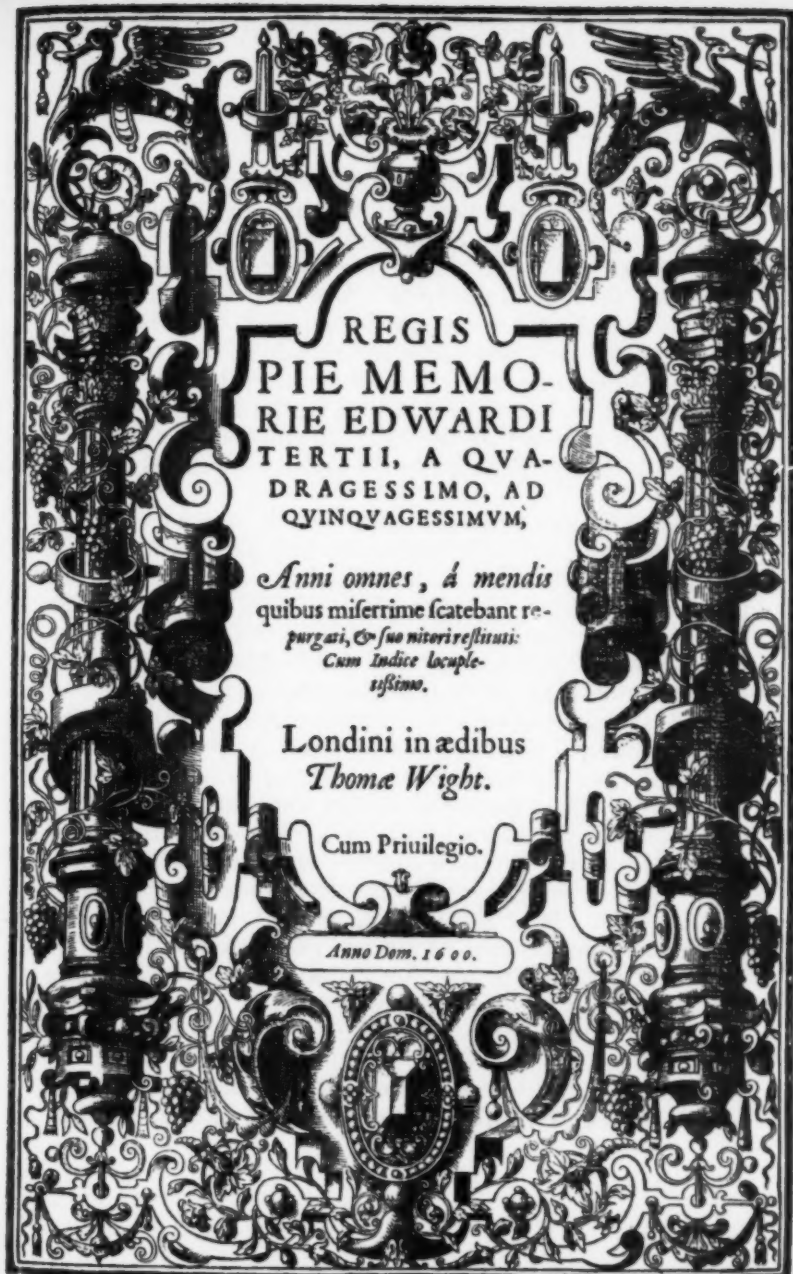
The last of the signed borders that I will mention is the extremely elaborate compartment of Robert Barker's folio Bible of 1602, the first and best of the series of Bible com-partments which have the tribes of Israel on one side and the Apostles on the other. This folio one is signed R. L. and C. S., but so far as I know the persons have not been identified, though there was a painter of the name of Rowland Lockey, and an engraver called by Meres in *Palladis Tamia*, Christopher Switzer, who seem to have been of the right date.

From 1600 to 1640 several groups of compartments can be distinguished, but most of these are of no great interest. There are a number of comparatively simple archway com-partments, generally with a hanging lamp below the arch and plants twining up the pillars. They are without merit

THE
AMENDMENT
OF LIFE,

COMPRISED IN
fower Bookes:

Faithfully Tranſlated according
to the French Coppie.

Written by Maſter Iohn Taffin,
Miniſter of the word of God
at Amſterdam.

MATH. 3. v. 2. & 4. v. 7.
Amend your liues for the kingdome of hea-
uen is at hand.

LONDINI
Impenſis Georg. Biſhop.
1595.

from any point of view, and all that need be said of them
is that they may sometimes be of service in determining the
printers of books in which they occur, and that it is no use
whatever to try to distinguish them except by the help of
facsimiles.   Another slightly more interesting, or at least
more elaborate, group consists of the folio compartments
which have at each side a pillar entwined with grapes, the title
being contained in a frame of irregular mouldings.   The one
reproduced as No. 10 is, I believe, the earliest of the group.
This has duck-billed birds at the top corners and a con-
ventional jewel in the centre below.   Others, while having
side pillars almost exactly similar to this one, have at the top
a lion and a unicorn, cherubs with palms in their hands, and
ornaments of scroll-work, while in the centre at foot one other
has a jewel, one a rose, and two open tablets.   There are at
least five of these compartments, all very similar at first
glance, but quite different when carefully examined.

With these I must conclude my very hasty survey of the
chief types of compartment to be met with during our period,
but before bringing this paper to an end I have one or two
things that I should like to say about these borders in general.
As regards the blocks themselves, I have already mentioned
the probability that some of them were cut on metal.   It is
also to be noted that many of them were in four separate
pieces.   It so happens that of the examples here reproduced,
all except two are one-piece compartments, but this is a mere
chance.   After the earliest period, I think that the great
majority of the quarto and folio borders were in four pieces,
the exceptions being generally those few in which the opening
for type was unusually small in proportion to the size of the
frame.   Remembering that the early wood-cutters always cut
on the flat of the grain, and not as in more recent times on
the end of it, one might suppose that the purpose of having
a compartment in four pieces was to get more strength in the

REGIS PIE MEMO- RIE EDWARDI TERTII, A QVA- DRAGESSIMO, AD QVINQVAGESSIMVM,

Anni omnes, á mendis quibus miserrime scatebant re- purgati, & suo nitori restituti: Cum Indice locuple- tissimo.

Londini in ædibus *Thomæ Wight.*

Cum Priuilegio.

Anno Dom. 1 6 0 0.

10 (1600)
Reduced from 250 × 154 mm.

top and bottom portions by having the grain run lengthwise ;
but this was evidently not the intention, for, in—so far as
I know—every single case, the grain runs vertically in all the
four pieces. The real reason was no doubt to facilitate
locking up the type in the forme. Obviously it would be very
difficult to lock up a small panel of type satisfactorily within
a border, and even more difficult perhaps to remove it after
printing, when the wooden furniture would probably be damp
and swollen with the lye used to wash the forme down. Indeed
the pressure from within the compartment might easily be so
great as to split it immediately the pressure from without was
removed.

There was some variation in the way in which the pieces
fitted together. In a few of the earlier ones the top and bottom
fitted within the sides, but the general rule is for the top and
bottom piece to be of the full width and the side pieces to fit
between them. In any case the variations to be found in the
positions of the pieces in different prints show that the pieces
were quite separate and not fastened together in any way.

From the point of view of the bibliographer it is important
to know what, if anything, can be inferred as to the printer
of a book from the use in it of any particular compartment,
and it will perhaps be expected that I should say something
on this point. Unfortunately, it is very difficult, if not
impossible, to say anything definite or of universal applica-
tion. It is almost always necessary to consider the particular
compartment. As a general rule, the presence of an old or
indifferent compartment in a book, provided that it has no
apparent reference to the book's subject, is fairly strong
evidence that it was printed by the man in whose hands we
find the compartment before and after the date of the book
in question. On the other hand, the more elaborate or
notable compartments seem often to have been lent by one
printer to another, and their appearance is of little value as

evidence of the press from which work came. There are also a few compartments which seem, at one time at least in their existence, to have been owned by stationers and not by printers at all—I shall refer to one of these later, a case in which a stationer seems to have used a compartment for all the works of a particular writer. On the whole, however, I believe that though compartments are of less value for the purpose of identification of the work of the various presses than are ornaments or initial letters, the study of them may give us very useful information as to the *grouping* of presses, whether by reason of trade association or of the personal friendship of their owners. The point needs a good deal more investigation, but I think that we shall find that there are certain groups of printers within which the lending of compartments was frequent, whereas they do not go outside the particular groups ; and that a knowledge of this interchange or community of material will clear up certain bibliographical problems. In some cases where the ostensible printer of a book seems not to be the real one, we may have to do with a kind of informal partnership between two men who pooled their material without actually uniting their businesses.

Generally speaking, in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, there is no difficulty about the ownership of the compartments. For example, those that were used by Berthelet—and they are a good proportion of those in use in his day—seem to have generally remained in his possession until his death, and the same thing is true of those owned by Grafton and by Whitchurch. Even in the case of Berthelet's compartments, however, there are certain puzzles. The quarto compartment No. 4, which I mentioned as possibly being cut on metal, is used frequently from 1543 to 1560 by Berthelet or in the house late Berthelet's, but nevertheless for no apparent reason we find it used in an undated book printed

by John Day, probably about 1550, and in one printed by Henry Wykes in 1557.

On the other hand, certain compartments which started life in the hands of some of the smaller printers seem hardly at any time to have had a settled ownership. For example there is one with a medallion of two heads—perhaps Tarquin and Lucrece—at the top, and an unpleasantly fat half-cherub at the base, which was used first in 1538 by John Nicholson in Southwark, appears in the next year in books printed by Wayland and by Byddell, and thereafter is found at varying dates in books printed by Petyt, Kele, Hill, Gaultier, and Whitchurch. From 1554 to 1563 it seems to have been used solely by John Kyngston, and lastly in 1563 we meet with it in a book printed by Thomas Marshe. It was thus used in the years 1538 to 1563 by at least ten printers. It is obvious that the appearance of this border, at any rate, in a book would be of little value as evidence of the press from which it came.

The best example that I have met with of a compartment being apparently owned by a stationer or publisher—and not by a printer—is to be found towards the end of my period, though there are suggestions of the same thing in earlier times. The compartment in question is one of the very uninteresting group of archway borders in quarto size of which there were several very similar ones in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. I have first found it in a book printed by John Dawson for J. Bellamy—Mayer's *Treasury of Ecclesiastical Expositions*, 1622. Seven years later it was again used by Dawson, to whom we may perhaps suppose it to have belonged in the interval, for Nicholas Bourne in John Preston's *New Covenant*. Apparently Bourne took a fancy to the compartment, for he seems to have obtained it from Dawson and thereafter used it in a number of Preston's books which were printed for him by various printers—and so far as I can learn

in no others. From 1629 to 1635 I have notes of its occurrence in twelve books, printed by four different printers, but all for Nicholas Bourne and all one or other of the works of Preston. This was evidently an early attempt at a uniform edition, and we must remember that there would be special advantages in a striking compartment for this purpose—even though the design might not be a very pleasing one—on account of its advertising value when the title-page was posted up in the way which we believe was usual in order to call attention to new publications.

As is only natural, compartments cut for a particular book or referring to its subject might tend to be used in new editions of that book or similar ones irrespective of the printers. But these specially designed titles seem curiously few, perhaps because when a book was deemed worthy of a special title this was—at least in the later part of the period—generally engraved and not cut in wood. Perhaps also the printers regarded a compartment which too definitely alluded to a book's subject and could therefore not very suitably be used for others, as uneconomical, and consciously avoided such designs.

These considerations will, I think, make it clear that although much may be learnt of bibliographical value from the study of compartments, the evidence to be derived from their occurrence must be interpreted with very great care, and attention will always have to be paid to the character, importance, and age of the particular block with which we are dealing.

One of the chief purposes of this paper is to ask for information and assistance towards the production of as complete a series as possible of facsimiles of English woodcut borders to 1640 on the same general lines as the volume of *Printers' and Publishers' Devices* which the Society did me the honour of issuing as an illustrated monograph in 1913. I do not think

that I need argue here as to the use of such a collection of facsimiles, even apart from whatever one may be able to do towards working out the history of the borders reproduced. There is nothing more difficult to describe than the average border—except perhaps those ornaments that consist merely of varieties of intertwined foliage and conventional flowers— and when even a man like Herbert with his knowledge of heraldic terms and his decided gift for description finds himself compelled to describe one of these borders merely as ' a very singular compartment ', it is evident that for purposes of identification nothing less than a facsimile will do. But it is just this that is the difficulty. It is not as a rule very hard to find a decent print of a device or ornament, for these are as a rule small and central on the page, so that we often find respectable prints of them even in books that have been much used and are torn and dirty at the edges. But very different is the case of the compartment. As a general rule it fills the whole page—often indeed it is considerably larger than the type page—with the result that in books that have been at all closely cut by the binder it is very common indeed for the title-page border to be shaved, even when the actual letterpress of the book is quite untouched. Again, the title-page tends to be thumbed, stained, and torn more than any other part of the book. Further, on account of the size of the border it often has to be placed close in to the inner margin, with the result that if the binding is at all stiff it cannot be opened far enough to enable a satisfactory photograph to be taken, even when the fly-leaf or end-paper has not been stuck down on to it, as often happens. Lastly, as the border occupies a whole page, any defect in the evenness of inking or in the make-up is generally very apparent, and those who know the printing of the time know the frequency of such defects. Often one side of a compartment will be quite good while the impression of the other is so grey that

decent reproduction is impossible. The result of all this is that one may often have to examine a very large number of books containing a particular compartment before finding one from which it is possible to make a satisfactory facsimile. It is, I may say, an unattainable ideal, at any rate for one whose leisure is strictly limited, to try to obtain facsimiles of each border in its earliest and freshest condition ; but though I have had to give up any attempt to do this, I have in many cases failed to discover even a late print which was satisfactory for my purpose. It is, however, quite possible that there may be in private libraries, especially in those that have been got together by collectors who set a high value on condition, far better copies of certain books than are in the British Museum or other libraries that I have been able to consult ; and it is on this point that I wish particularly for information. I propose, with the assent of Mr. Pollard, to print in *The Library* at an early date a list of compartments of which I have failed to find prints which could be satisfactorily photographed, and I would beg those readers who know of any such prints to pass on their information to me and to assist me in obtaining the necessary photographs.

With such help it should, I think, be possible to produce a book of facsimiles of all or almost all the borders used by our printers up to 1640, which will be of real value and utility to future bibliographers. Without co-operation of this sort I am sure that, for me at least, the task would be a hopeless one.

EARLY EDITIONS OF EUCLID'S *ELEMENTS*
1482–1600 [1]

By CHARLES THOMAS-STANFORD

EUCLID flourished at Alexandria about 300 B.C. In the early editions he is commonly and erroneously described as Megarensis, a confusion with an earlier philosopher of Megara. His *Elements* has been for centuries the chief text-book of geometry. Bibliographically it has been somewhat neglected. The only modern bibliography is Riccardi's *Saggio* (Bologna, 1887 seq.). For the period with which this paper is concerned it is not very helpful, and sometimes misleading.

For convenience the books which come within this period may be divided into four classes :

    I. The ' full-dress ' editions of the complete *Elements*, or of not less than the first six books ; with the demonstrations and with diagrams ; in Greek, Greek and Latin, or Latin.

    II. Editions in Greek or Latin of the enunciations only, with or without diagrams.

    III. Translations into modern languages.

    IV. Fragmentary editions in various languages.

The existence of Class II is mainly due to the erroneous belief current in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Euclid left only the definitions, postulates, and enunciations; and that the demonstrations were the work of Theon the younger (fifth century A. D.) or of some later commentator.

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[1] Epitome of a paper read before the Bibliographical Society, 19 November 1923. The paper is being expanded to form an Illustrated Monograph.

This belief persisted until the time of Sir Henry Savile. The evidence of Proclus, a contemporary of Theon, seems conclusive in favour of the modern view that Euclid was the author of the demonstrations.

The fragmentary pieces which form Class IV (including numerous school-books published at Strassburg about 1570 by Dasypodius) perhaps do not strictly fall within the scope of this paper at all; but in any full bibliography of the *Elements* they would have a place. Works merely based on Euclid are excluded, e. g. the geometrical treatise of Archbishop Bradwardine, printed at Paris in 1495 and frequently reprinted in France and Spain.

In this abstract of the paper it is only possible to mention briefly the more important editions. The first edition of the *Elements* was printed by Ratdolt at Venice in 1482. It was an epoch-making book; the first attempt to produce a mathematical work illustrated by diagrams. It was also a very beautiful book and set a standard long followed by printers of similar books, notably by Hamman, *alias* Hertzog. The Latin translation which Ratdolt used is said to have been made by Adelard of Bath in the twelfth century. There are over 420 diagrams, held by some to be from wood blocks, by others to be produced from metal lines. A page-for-page reprint appeared at Vicenza in 1491. It is printed in roman type in place of Ratdolt's gothic, and in the matter of decoration lacks the distinction of Ratdolt's work.

Early in the next century two important editions appeared at Venice. In 1505 Tacuinus printed a translation into Latin from a Greek text by Zamberti. This volume (which was reissued in 1510) contains also other works attributed to Euclid. In 1509 Paganinus printed a very beautiful edition of the *Elements* edited by Lucas de Borgo. The three Venetian editions (1482–1509) mark the meridian of book-production as regards typographical excellence and appropriate decoration.

Subsequent editions produced elsewhere are mostly more commercial in character and designed for customers to whom utility and cheapness were main considerations. And Venice (except with Italian translations) did not compete with Paris, Basle, and Strassburg.

The first Paris edition (H. Etienne, 1516) calls for no special comment. The important Basle series commenced with the *editio princeps* of the Greek text (Herwagen, 1533) printed in a small and much-contracted type, a disappointing book from a typographical point of view. It was edited by Simon Gryner and dedicated to Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. Several Latin versions were produced by the same firm between 1537 and 1558.

Meantime at Paris Simon de Collines had printed in 1536 (with reprints in 1544 and 1551) the first six books of the *Elements* with demonstrations by Fine Oronce, the enunciations (in Greek and Latin) being based on Zamberti. The edition of 1544 is especially a beautiful book, not unworthy of the Venetian tradition. Rihel at Strassburg and de Tournes at Lyons printed noteworthy editions of Books I—VI in 1566 and 1567. And in 1566 Royer at Paris produced a complete edition of the fifteen books edited by François de Foix ; this was reprinted more than once.

A new translation by the scholar Federigo Comandino (which exercised considerable influence on subsequent editions) was printed at Pesaro in 1572. At Rome a new departure in the matter of *format* was taken. So far folios had been the rule. The Latin translation of Christophorus Clavius was printed in two small octavo volumes in 1574 and reprinted in 1589 (and in folio at Cologne in 1591).

In Class II the most noteworthy book is perhaps the little Greek edition of the enunciations printed at Rome by Bladus in 1545, and generally accompanied by an Italian translation of the same date.

The chief components of Class III may be briefly mentioned. The first Italian version (by N. Tartalea) was printed at Venice in folio in 1543, and reprinted in quarto several times. An Italian translation of Comandino's edition (Pesaro, 1572) was printed at Urbino in 1575. A French translation of the first six books appeared at Paris in 1564 from the press of Marnef and Cavellat. At Basle a German version of the same books was printed by Kündig in 1562. The first English Euclid was an English version of the fifteen books from the press of John Day in 1570. Of this interesting and important book it can only be mentioned here that Henry Billingsley, Lord Mayor in 1597, was the translator, and that Dr. John Dee wrote an elaborate introduction. The first Spanish translation of Books I—VI, an insignificant school-book in small quarto, appeared at Seville in 1576.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all printed Euclids was produced at Rome by the Medicean press in 1594—the Arabic version of the *Elements* made by Nas-i-Reddin in A.D. 1260. It is a folio printed throughout in Arabic; and it is a very beautiful book.

In Class IV mention must be made of the translation (into Latin) of portions of Books I—III contained in *Boetii Opera Omnia*, Venice, G. de Gregoriis, 1491–2, and often reprinted.

CICERO: DE OFFICIIS ET PARADOXA, MAINZ, 1465, 1466

By H. M. ADAMS

THE following table has been drawn up after an investigation of twenty copies of the two editions, mostly in the British Museum and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, undertaken with the object of finding definitive differences for each leaf of each edition. Since seven of the so-called 1465 copies agreed exactly among themselves and nine of the so-called 1466 copies agreed among themselves, it seems fair to assume that the two editions can be separated and defined. No general lines of variation can be laid down; the two forms of Q and M, for instance, and contractions, being used as much in one edition as in the other, with the consequence that each leaf must be taken as a separate thing. In almost every case the difference quoted has been the first occurring on the page.

As a foot-note to de Ricci's *Premieres Impressions de Mayence*, it may be added that the copy in Corpus Christi College, Oxford (84. 6), is 1466, not 1465; the copy at Peterhouse, Cambridge (84. 10), was not found in July 1923; and additional to the copies of the 1466 edition mentioned at Cambridge is one on paper at Trinity College.

In the following table M^1 stands for a rounded form, M^2 for a pointed; Q^1 for a rounded form with small opening at the base, Q^2 for a tailed form; H^1 for a form with single stem, while H^2 has a double one, the line to the left being serrated.

Leaf recto.	line.	1465.	1466.	
1	4	Prefacio	Prefatio	
2	2	ē	est	
	26	ſʒ(ut	ſʒ (ut	position of bracket
3	last	reʒ	reruʒ	
4	6	ɔflatur ʒ	ɔflaſ et	
5	2	M¹	M²	
6	1	opeſ	opes	
7	2	Q²	Q¹	
8	4	q̄ non	qui non	
9	8	ʒ . . gńe	et . . genere	
10	4	ſimulacō	ſimulatio	
11	1	ut	vt	
12	4	tamē	tam̄	
13	2	Cōtraqʒ	Contraqʒ	
14	2	quid ē	quibē	
15	3	glĩam	glña ʒ	
16	3	tiberiū	Tiberiū	
17	4	videamur	viđeamur	
18	3	qua p̄clare	q̄ p̄clare	
19	3	qui rem	q̄ rem	
20	3	eſt. ʒ fit	e. et fit	
21	3	Q¹uoʒ	Q²uoʒ	
22	3	ad cursū . . . ab	ab cursū . . . ad	d and b
23	4	qb' coʒ	ⱷ eoʒ	
24	2	difficilia	difficilima	
25	4	etiam . . . bicendum	etiã . . . bicendū	
26	1	eabē	eadē	
27	1	cogitacōne	cogitatione	
28	3	cum qua	cū qua	
29	1	H¹oʒ	H²oʒ	
30	5	ip̄iſ	ipis	
31	5	reʒ	rerū	
32	1	ſtudioſoſ biſcendi	ſtudioſos biſcēdi	
33	2	M¹arci. Ciceronis	M²arci. ciceronis	
34	2	effe . . . nlľa	eē . . . nulla	
35	1	officiſ . . . autē	officitur . . . aūt	
36	8	ɔſumpta	ɔſūpta	
37	2	ʒ ſi	et ſi	

Leaf recto.	line.	1465.	1466.
38	1	fufpicōcȝ . . . imperij	fufpicōem . . . impij
39	3	ȝ primū ȝ maxi⸗	ȝ primū et ma⸗
40	3	Alia ē il⸗	Alia est il⸗
41	8	Q¹uin	Q²uin
42	1	eoip̄o	eoipfo
43	2	ḡuitas	grauitas
44	2	p̄ merenduȝ.	p̄ merendū
45	1	p̄fertim	preƀtim
46	2	nō	non
47	5	ƀignitatif	ƀiḡtatis
48	1	vero	vėo
49	4	eit	erit
50	7	agrū	agruȝ
51	8	folucio	folutio
52	1	Q²uiƀ	Q¹uid
53	1	fcripfimuf. Sed	fcripfimus. Sȝ
54	1	partē	partem
55	2	medioȝ	medicoȝ
56	1	emolumētū	emolumentū
57	6	ciuitatis	ciuitatif
58	2	qȝ	quia
59	1	quibuf	quibȝ
60	2	Pec⸗	Pecca⸗
61	3	fignificacō	fignificatio
62	1	que tibi	q̄ tibi
63	1	argētariā	argentariā
64	1	quiƀ'	quiƀē
65	1	rōe ·	rōne
66	2	eē	effe
67	4	enim	enī
68	1	Q²uid	Q¹uiƀ
69	7	omīa	omnia
70	3	ƀuāda	ƀuanda
71	1	tra⸗	trage⸗
72	5	mō	modo
73	2	attulerif	attuleſs
74	1	gerendam	gerendā
75	1	tp̄ātia	tp̄antia

Leaf recto.	line.	1465.	1466.	
76	6	veniſſeʒ	veniſſem	
77	2	opuſculuʒ	opusculū	
78	7	q̃c c̃g	quicc̃g	
79	13	M¹orteʒ	M¹ortem	
80	4	facta	facta	difference in ct
81	2	Q²ue	Q¹ue	
82	5	tandeʒ	tandē	
83	1	M¹agna	M²agna	
84	1	Q¹uid ſi paup	Q²uio ſi paup	
85	1	res.	reſ.	
86	1	xij. ſapientuʒ	xıj. ſapientū	66 xıj undotted
87	1	Q²uē	Q¹uē	
88	2	ɔparacōʒ	ɔpacōnem	

ON A GROUP OF BINDINGS WITH PAINTED PLAQUETTES

By G. D. HOBSON

IN case any bookman should plead ignorance of what a plaquette is, it may be well to begin this paper by quoting the account of them appended to the exhibition of the fine collection presented to the British Museum by Mr. T. Whitcombe Greene in 1915:

> Plaquettes are small metal tablets in relief, usually produced by casting in a mould from a wax model. Unlike commemorative medals, they are for the most part intended to decorate larger objects, such as pieces of furniture, caskets, ink-stands, sword-pommels, or horse-trappings, and the relief is properly confined to one side. The finest plaquettes are of the Italian school of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Some of them reproduce motives by the famous sculptor Donatello, though none can be attributed to his hand. The most celebrated of Italian decorative craftsmen, Andrea Briosco of Padua, called Riccio (1470–1532), is, however, well represented in the art. Two of the most charming plaquette modellers are Fra Antonio da Brescia and the artist who signs IO. F. F. Another famous modeller calls himself Moderno, evidently in rivalry with the bronze-worker known as Antico (Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi of Mantua). The name Ulocrino (woolly-hair) was assumed by another artist who thought to rival Riccio (curly-hair). Some reproduced work of the crystal-engravers, such as Giovanni Bernardi of Castelbolognese (1496–1553) and Valerio Belli (1468–1546). The non-Italian schools are of less artistic importance, though mention should be made of Peter Flötner of Nuremberg (died 1546).

These plaquettes come into the world of books by the survival of a small group of bookbindings at one time in the possession of Jean Grolier, ornamented with central medallions made from the dies from which plaquettes were cast. The chief authorities on plaquettes are Molinier (*Les Plaquettes*, 1886) and Dr. Bode of the Berlin Museum (*Die italienischen Bronzen*, second edition, 1904). In the first number of *Bibliographica*, the late W. Y. Fletcher wrote an article on

one of the books thus ornamented, a *Celsus* in the Grenville Library at the British Museum, but the bindings in question, of which a list is given on p. 55 sqq., have never yet been dealt with as a group. I propose first to consider the plaquettes reproduced on them, then the date and place of their origin, and finally Grolier's relation to them.

I. *The plaquettes.* Eleven different plaquettes are reproduced on the seven books, three being repeated : five are by IO. F. F., two by Moderno, one by Fra Antonio da Brescia, and three by unknown North Italian artists working about 1500. IO. F. F. was formerly identified with Giovanni delle Corniole, but this theory has now been abandoned, and both he and Moderno are to be classed, with our other three unknowns, as North Italian artists working about 1500. V (*b*) needs some explanation : it occurs as the reverse of a medal in honour of Gonsalvo de Cordova, and is ascribed by Armand to Annibale of Milan, and dated about 1550, but it had not been hitherto noticed that this reverse is simply the plaquette by Moderno, very slightly modified, and with inscriptions added above and below. This medal, therefore, must be taken away from Annibale, to whose signed work it has only a superficial resemblance, and it may be dated as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Gonsalvo's victories over the French which it commemorates having been won in 1503. VI (*b*), again, was assigned by Dr. Bode to Bartolommeo Melioli of Mantua (1448–1514), but this attribution is no longer upheld by experts, and the author of the plaquette must remain unidentified, though the period and place of his work are unquestionable. Fra Antonio da Brescia is known to have been working between 1486 and 1513, and the whole of these plaquettes therefore fall into line as the work of North Italian artists, active about 1500–20.[1]

[1] I owe the identification of most of these plaquettes and practically all my information regarding them to Mr. G. F. Hill, of the British Museum.
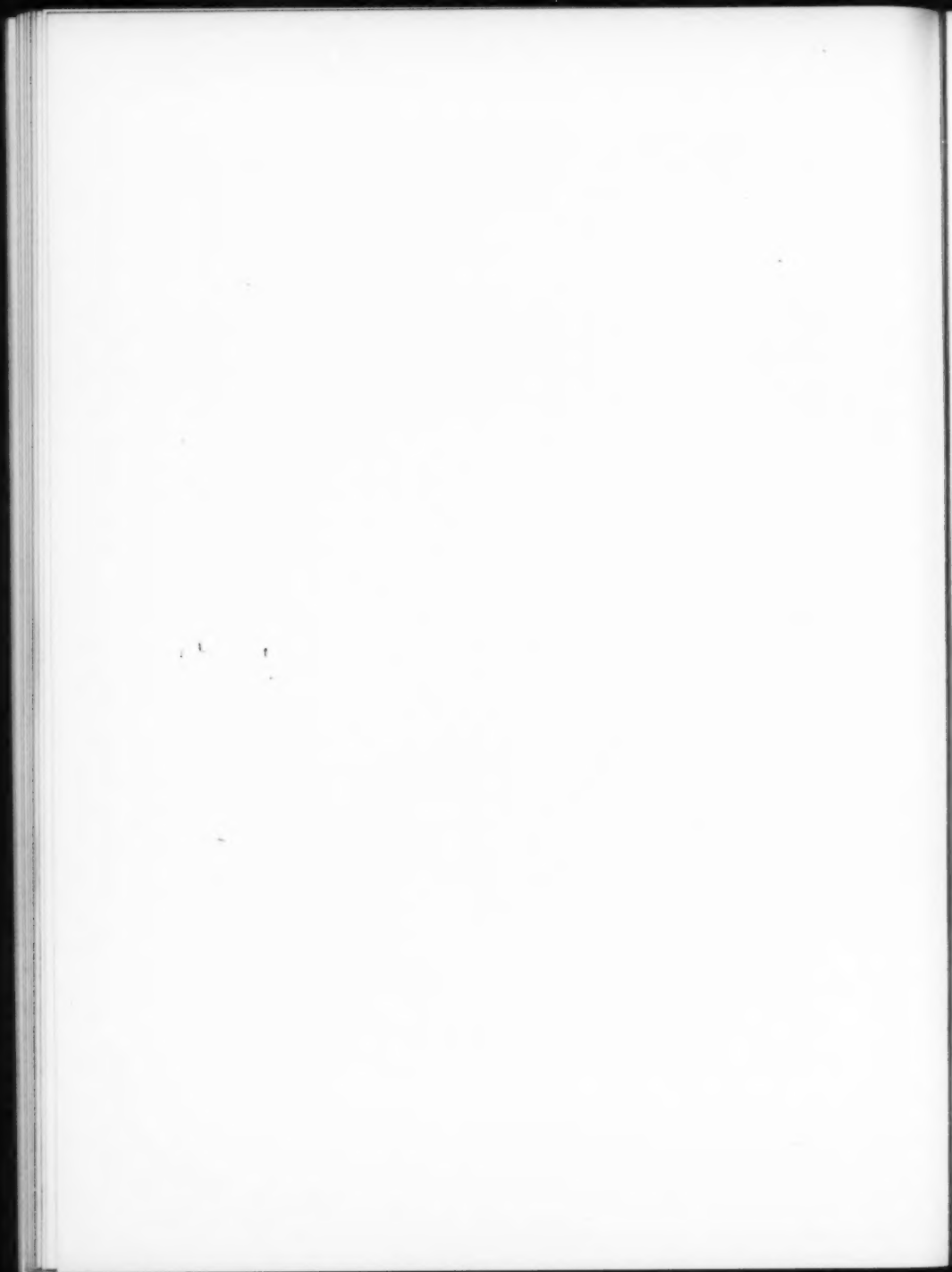
1. MUTIUS SCAEVOLA (1ᵃ)
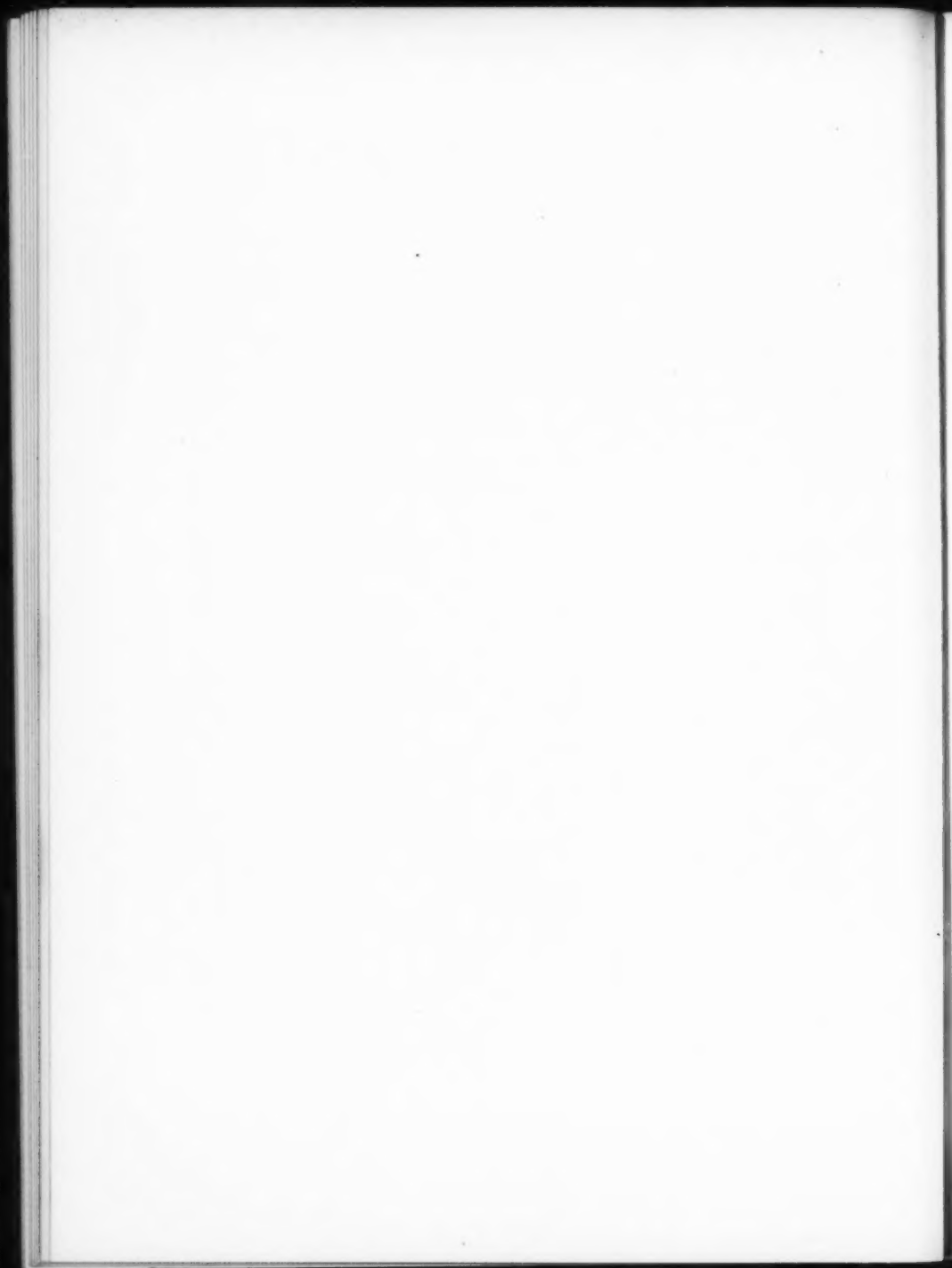
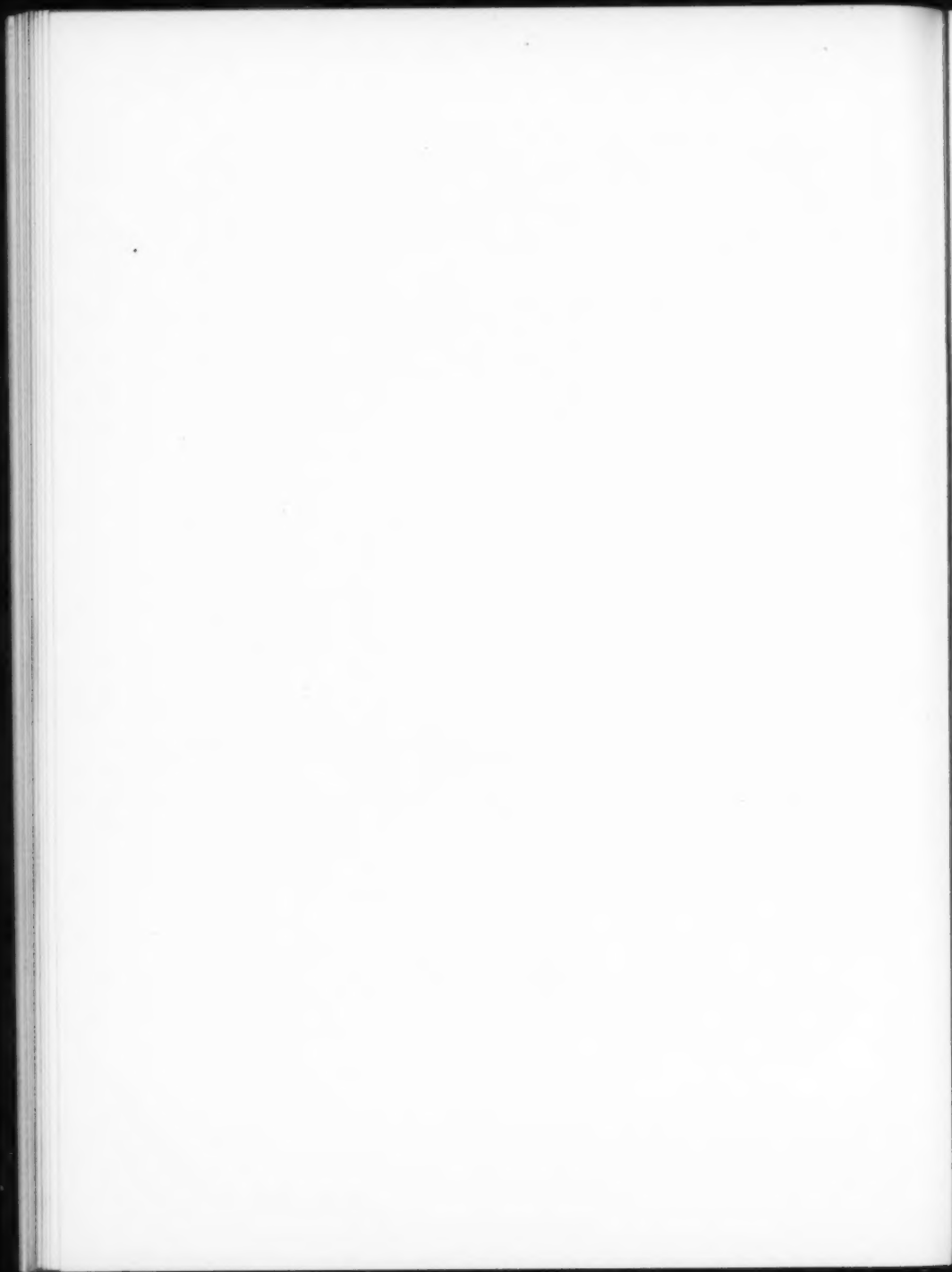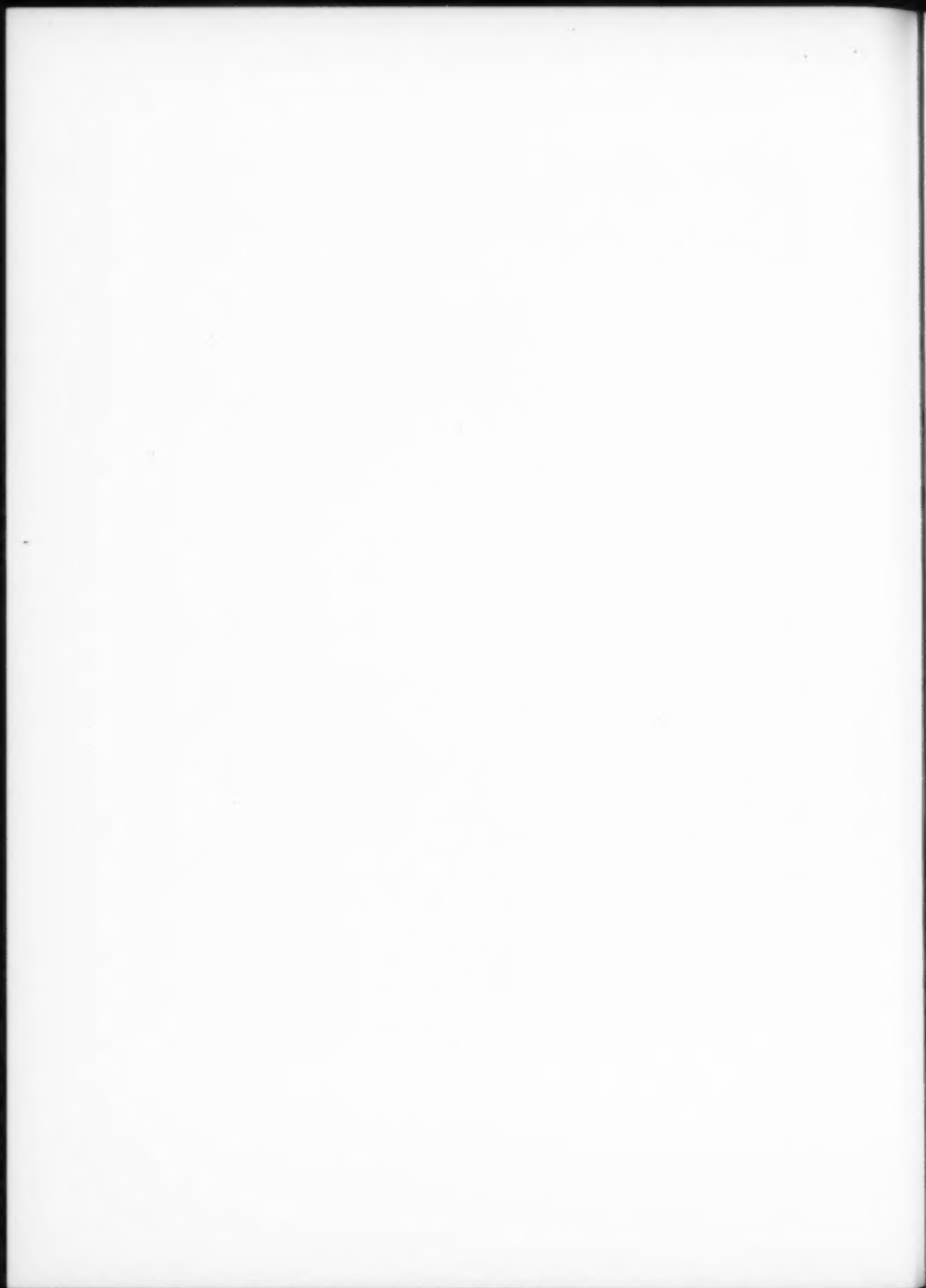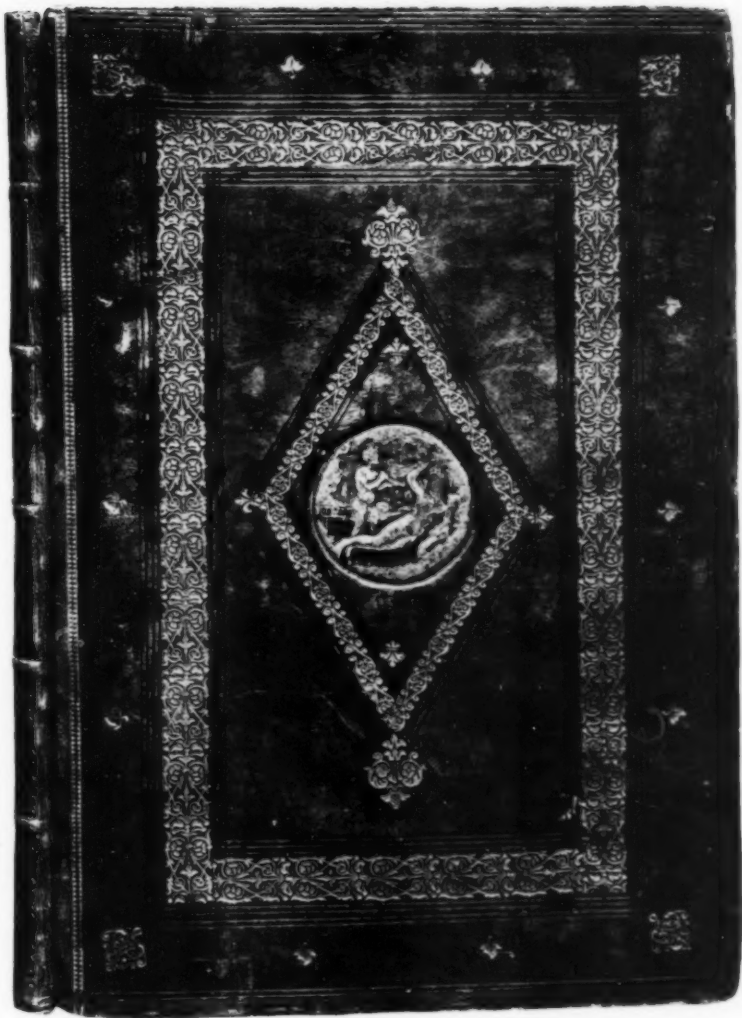2. QUINTUS CURTIUS (III^a)

3. ORPHEUS (IVᵇ)

4. BATTLE SCENE (Vᵃ)

5. THE HEAD OF JOHN THE BAPTIST (VIᵇ)

6. SATYR AND NYMPH (VII^a)

7. (*a*) AN ALLEGORY I[b] ; (*b*) ORIENTAL RIDER ? VI[b]

8. (a) FORE-EDGE OF I; (b) FORE-EDGE OF VII

II. *Date and place of the bindings.* Before considering these we must see whether the bindings have a common origin, and it is obvious at first glance that five out of the six reproduced come from the same workshop, and in all probability were executed about the same time.[1] The similarity of the designs is striking ; and the same tools isolated or repeated to form borders are common to several. Thus the border on the upper cover of I is found on the upper cover of V, and that on its lower cover on the upper cover of VII and the lower cover of V. A large acorn stamp, with two leaves, is found on I, IV, and V ; a large and distinctive fleuron on IV, VI, and VII ; these are examples only—the list might easily be increased.

The *Celsus* of the British Museum seems at first glance to stand somewhat apart from the others ; but close inspection shows that it has much in common with them.

a. The plaquettes are by IO. F. F., whose work appears also on I, II, and VII—the same plaquettes appearing on II.

b. The small painted roundels are found also stamped in gold on V.

c. A frame of parallel lines intersecting at the corners is found on this as on all the other books : in all, it may be noted, there are irregularities at the corners—the lines do not stop evenly.

d. Borders built up of small tools are found on III as well as on all the others, though here they are stamped in blind instead of gold ; and the inner of the two borders is very closely allied to, if not identical with, the borders on both covers of VI and the lower cover of IV.

e. Finally, there is the fact that this book, like all the others, belonged to Grolier.

Mr. H. P. Horne (*The Binding of Books*, 1894, p. 92),

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[1] II is only known to me from rubbings kindly supplied to me by Miss Belle Greene, Librarian of the Pierpont Morgan Library : it resembles the other five bindings very closely, but the stamps cannot be identified with certainty.

comparing the *Johannes Grammaticus* with the *Celsus*, remarks
that the former is ' of rougher workmanship '.   This is true
of the plaquettes on the *Celsus*, much more care having been
taken with them than with any of the others ; the latter are
simply stamped on the leather, and consequently are a good
deal worn ; those on the *Celsus* are stamped on gesso within
shields sunk in the boards ; hence the impressions are sharper
and they are in much better preservation.   But Mr. Horne's
statement is not true of the binding itself, which is no better
technically, though certainly of a more attractive design.   On
the whole the evidence is strongly in favour of this book
having been bound at the same workshop as the rest of the
series : it is most improbable that a binding having so many
points of similarity should have a different origin.

But what was that origin?   Surely the plaquettes are
strong evidence that the books were bound in North Italy,
early in the sixteenth century.   For if they were bound at
any other place or time, would not they be decorated with
the works of local or contemporary medallists?   Thus on
a copy of Dio Cassius' *Delle Guerre Romane*, Venice, 1542,[1]
we find a charming little medallion of the type attributed to
Valerio Belli of Vicenza (died 1546), and on bindings executed
in France about the middle of the sixteenth century we find
medals with portraits of Henri II.[2]   The arms of Grolier as
shown on the fore-edges of two of the volumes (VI and VII)
do not help us, for since the Vicomte de Grouchy showed
thirty years ago (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1894) that the arms

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[1] Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1891, case G, no. 12, by
His Excellency M. Gennadius ; then in the George Dunn Library (sold at
Sotheby's, 2 February 1914, lot 1005) ; now E. P. Goldschmidt.

[2] For reproductions see the catalogue of the Dutuit Collection (Paris, Mor-
gand, 1899), No. 604 ; Quaritch, *Illustrations of Bookbindings*, 1889, pls. 88–9.
A medal commonly found is that by Etienne de Laune (working 1552–83), with
a reverse of Fame in a chariot, blowing a trumpet (Mazerolle, F., *Les médailleurs
français*, 1902, vol. ii, p. 26, no. 99, and vol. i, p. xlii, note 3).

which Grolier quartered were not those of his wife, Anne Briçonnet, we can no longer use the date of his marriage, 1520, as entitling us to place all instances of his simpler coat in his bachelor days and therefore before that year. But the dates of the books themselves range from 1497 to 1504; four were printed at Venice, one each in Milan, Bologna, and Rome. There is nothing in these facts to conflict with our theory; in fact, they confirm the supposed date of the bindings, for if these were later we should expect to find some of the books at least in later editions.

It is impossible to speak with certainty of the evidence to be gathered from the style of the bindings; there has been too little systematic study of early sixteenth-century gold-tooled bindings for any definite conclusions to be drawn on stylistic grounds; still, they are unquestionably Italian, no bindings at all resembling them being produced elsewhere. Closer placing is difficult. A slight modification of the border on the upper cover of I is found also on a copy of *Procopius* (Rome, 1506),[1] and it is fair to say that the former owner of this book, Baron Hierta, tells me that he has always thought his binding to be Roman. But if these books were bound in Rome, why are all the plaquettes by North Italian artists? Milan, as the French head-quarters and Grolier's usual domicile[2] in Italy, is a more probable place of origin, but there is nothing definite in its favour, and on the whole it is safer to rely on the evidence of the plaquettes only, and to call the bindings North Italian, and regard them as a group, bound approximately at one time, not very long after 1504, the date of the latest imprint.

III. *Grolier's relation to these bindings.* It is certain that all these books belonged to Grolier, but were they bound for him, or did he buy them already bound? The latter theory has held

[1] Axel Nilsson, *Bokbandsdekorens Stilutveckling*, Göteborg, 1922, pl. 43.
[2] Le Roux de Lincy, *Recherches sur Jean Grolier*, 1866, p. 58.

the field since the days of Libri and Le Roux de Lincy, who propounded it as axiomatic. It seems to be based on two facts :

1. That Grolier's name and motto are not stamped on any of the bindings.

2. That the bindings are different from his usual type.

Neither argument, however, is conclusive. The fact that the name and motto are not stamped on the covers is easily explained ; probably Grolier had not yet thought of having this done. He was born in 1479, and was in Italy in 1511 ;[1] these bindings, as we have seen, can hardly have been executed much after the latter date, and as there is no evidence that Grolier had started collecting before going to Italy, if they were made to his order they must be among the first made for him, when his habits as a collector were not yet formed. Furthermore, the practice of stamping a collector's name and motto on his bookbindings did not become popular till later in the century ; at this early period, if not quite unknown, it was very uncommon.

Nor is it strange that these bindings should differ so widely from the more familiar examples of his library, since the latter differ widely among themselves.

Writers are apt to speak of the Grolier or Grolieresque style as if all his bindings were in one manner, or as if at all events there was some marked resemblance between them. But as a matter of fact no collector of that period, and very few of any later date, had such an eclectic taste as Grolier. There is little or nothing in common, save the name and motto stamped on them, between the simple bindings decorated with gold lines and solid fleurons on such books as the Eton College *Juvenal*[2] and the elaborately painted covers of

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[1] Le Roux de Lincy, *op. cit.*, 1866, pp. 3 and 324. How much earlier Grolier came to Italy is unknown.

[2] Le Roux de Lincy, Grolier Club edition, 1907, p. 236, no. 257 ; reproduced in the Burlington Fine Arts Club catalogue, 1891, pl. xxxix.

the late Mr. Robert Hoe's *Bessarion*,[1] between the severely architectonic decoration of the *Virgil* in the Bibliothèque Nationale [2] and the graceful meanderings of the design on the *Aeneas Vicus* in the British Museum,[3] or indeed between any of these and the ' fanfare ' design which adorns what must be one of the last bindings done for Grolier, on a *Plutarch* in the former Imperial Library at Vienna.[4]

Now, it is generally acknowledged that all, or practically all, the bindings which bear the name and motto are French, and later than 1530. Baron Rudbeck [5] has proved this conclusively with regard to the simplest type, and if it is true of them, it is unquestionably true of the others also. If then there is so much diversity among Grolier's French bindings, is it not probable that his Italian bindings—if he had any— would be still more different?

Revenons à nos moutons : if our seven bindings were not executed for Grolier, either they are trade bindings or they were bound for some other collector. The former theory does not seem very probable ; had they been trade bindings we should have expected to see one or two plaquettes, frequently repeated, and stamped in blind or gold, not eleven different plaquettes carefully and elaborately coloured by hand ; while if the books were bound for another collector, how is it that he has left no traces of his ownership in them ? Of the three sixteenth-century names which we find in these books, Claude Dupuy, the owner of V, was born in 1545 and died 1594 ; Bouguier, the owner of VI, may be identical

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[1] Le Roux de Lincy, *ed. cit.*, p. 171, no. 51 ; reproduced in Techener, *Histoire de la Bibliophilie*, 1861–4, pl. 6.

[2] Le Roux de Lincy, *ed. cit.*, p. 323, no. 539, reproduced there.

[3] Le Roux de Lincy, *ed. cit.*, p. 320, no. 532 ; reproduced in *Foreign Bookbindings in the British Museum*, by W. Y. Fletcher, 1896, pl. xiv.

[4] Not in Miss Shipman's revision of Le Roux de Lincy ; reproduced in *K. K. Hofbibliothek, Bucheinbände*, by Th. Gottlieb, 1910, pl. 46.

[5] *Festschrift Loubier*, Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1923, pp. 183–90.

either with a fellow student of Rabelais or with the author of *Vers dans le tombeau de Marguerite de Valois*[1]—in either case he was in all probability at least a generation younger than Grolier.   René Fame,[2] the owner of I, I have not been able to trace, but there are several reasons for thinking that he owned the *Annius* after Grolier.   I need give but one : if he was the collector for whom all these books were bound, why did he write his name in one only, though he wrote his name in two other Groliers[3] which he possessed?

It is therefore probable that Dupuy, Bouguier, and Fame all obtained their books after Grolier's death in 1565, when there are strong reasons for supposing that a large part of his library was dispersed.

After all, is any collector more likely than Grolier to have ordered these bindings? We know that he was an ardent numismatist and that he had a fine collection of coins and medals : is it surprising that when he first visited Italy he should have been fascinated by the neo-classic art of the contemporary Italian plaquettes, or that he should have had them used for the decoration of his books?   Later in life, no doubt, his taste in bindings changed : it would have been strange had it remained unaltered during half a century of collecting.

It must be admitted that very little can be conclusively

[1] *Pantagruel*, iii. 34 ; J. E. and G. Planchon, *Guillaume Rondelet*, Appendice 24 ; Du Verdier, *Bibl. franç.* ii. 166 ; C. Port, *Dictionnaire de Maine-et-Loire*. I owe this information and these references to Monsieur Henri Omont, of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[2] Le Roux de Lincy read the name Fumée, possibly because he did not know the surname Fame and connected René with the family to which Adam Fumée, Chancellor under Louis XI, and a celebrated bibliophile, belonged.   But Monsieur Georges Collon, librarian of the Municipal Library at Tours, states that there was undoubtedly a family of this name in Touraine and that two members of it, Pierre and Jean, are mentioned as rich bourgeois in documents of about the middle of the fifteenth century.

[3] Le Roux de Lincy, 1907, p. 199, no. 148, and p. 248, no. 305.

proved about these bindings, but the theory that they were executed in North Italy for Grolier between 1504 and 1520 is reasonable, coherent, and supported by all the available evidence. It would, I believe, be impossible to construct any other theory of their origin of which this could be said.

LIST OF BINDINGS

I. J. Annius Viterbensis.... *De Commentariis Antiquitatum*, Rome, 1498, folio, green morocco, faded to brown.
 Plaquettes. (*a*) Mutius Scaevola putting his hand in the flame. Molinier [1] 138, Bode [2] 957. Plate 1.
 (*b*) Allegory. Two 'men with palm and head on a pole, approaching a woman seated on a dragon. Molinier 147, Bode 955. Plate 7 (*a*).
 Artist. IO. F. F.
 Inscriptions. Jo. Grolierii Lugdunen et amicorum—Portio mea Domine sit in terra viventium.
 Renati Fame Turonensis et Amicorum—Vires acquirit eundo.
 Fore-edge. Painted with scrolls and grotesque heads. Plate 8 (*a*).
 Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris.
 Le Roux de Lincy, 1907, p. 161, no. 17.

II. Aristotle, *Opera, Graece,* Venice, Aldus, 1498 (one volume only out of six), folio, brown morocco.
 Plaquettes. (*a*) Curtius leaping into the gulf (Molinier 139, Bode 958).
 (*b*) Horatius Cocles on horseback defending the bridge (Molinier 137, Bode 959).
 Artist. IO. F. F.

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[1] Émile Molinier, ‘ Les bronzes de la Renaissance,’ *Les Plaquettes*, 1886.
[2] Berlin Museum, Bode, *Die italienischen Bronzen*, 2nd edition, 1904.

Inscription. Joannis Grolierij Lugdunensis et amicorum.
Edges.   Brown scroll pattern on white background.
Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.
Not in Le Roux de Lincy, 1907.

III. A. C. Celsus, *De Medicina Libri VIII*, Venice, 1497,
   folio, brown morocco.
   Plaquettes. Same as those on II.   *a* = Plate 2.
   Inscription. Est mei Jo. Grolier lugd et amicorum.
   British Museum, Grenville Library.
   Reproductions. *Foreign Bookbindings in the British
      Museum*, by W. Y. Fletcher, London, 1896, pl. ix ;
      Bibliographica, vol. i, pls. 1 and 2.
   Le Roux de Lincy, 1907, p. 186, no. 98.

IV. Joannes Grammaticus, *In posteriora resolutoria Aristotelis
   Commentaria*, Venice, Aldus, 1504, small folio, citron
   morocco.
   Plaquettes. (*a*) Battle scene ; horseman with helmet,
      cuirass and shield, galloping to left over two prostrate
      men and a horse, behind him another horse galloping
      (Molinier 216, Bode 790).
            (*b*) Orpheus, leaning against a tree playing
      violin ; stag, lion, bear, and lynx listening (Molinier
      498, Bode 939).   Plate 3.
   Artists. (*a*) Moderno.
            (*b*) North Italian artist, *c.* 1500.
   Edges.   Painted with the Greek key pattern.
   Inscriptions.   Grolierii quaestoris . . . : Pro conventus
      Capuc. Juniaci, beneath two strips of paper pasted
      on title.
   Monsieur E. Rahir, Paris.
   Reproduced in Quaritch's *Illustrations of Bookbindings*,
      1889, pls. 8 and 9.
   Not in Le Roux de Lincy, 1907.

V. Philostratus, *De vita Appollonii Tyanaei libri octo*, Venice, Aldus, 1502, folio, brown calf.

Plaquettes. (*a*) Same as IV (*a*). Plate 4.

         (*b*) Combat between horse- and foot-soldiers under the walls of a town, with inscriptions ; above, Gonsalvi Agidari Victoria ; below, De Gallis ad Cannas (a modification of Bode 785 ; Armand, *Les Médailleurs italiens*, 2nd edition, 1883, vol. i, p. 176, no. 2).

Artist. Moderno.

Inscriptions. Jo. Grolierii Lugdunens et amicorum (on last page of text) ; Claudii Puteani (on title).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Le Roux de Lincy, 1907, p. 274, no. 386.

VI. G. B. Pio di Bologna, *Annotamenta, etc.*, Bologna, 1503, folio, citron morocco.

Plaquettes. (*a*) Rider in oriental costume (Bode 1077, Molinier 449). Plate 7 (*b*).

         (*b*) Head of John the Baptist brought to Herod (Bode 937). Plate 5.

Artists. (*a*) Venetian, *c.* 1500.

         (*b*) North Italian, late fifteenth century.

Inscriptions. Jo. Grolierii, Lugdunensis et amicorum ; Portio mea domine sit in terra viventium (on last page) ; Guidonis Bouguierj Lutetianj, και των φιλον (on title). At the end of the book, Bibl. Bigot humaniores letterae 12 Augt. 1706.

Edges. Fore-edge has painted scroll-work with Grolier's arms unquartered.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Le Roux de Lincy, 1907, p. 278, no. 396.

VII. Σουιδα λεξικον, Milan, 1499, folio, citron morocco.
Plaquettes. (*a*) Satyr and Nymph (Bode 971, Molinier
121).   Plate 6.

(*b*) The Judgment of Paris (Bode 966,
Molinier 134).

Artists.   (*a*) Fra Antonio da Brescia.

(*b*) IO. F. F.

Edges.   Fore-edge has painted scroll-work with Grolier's
arms unquartered.   Plate 8 (*b*).

Yemeniz Collection; Sir John Arthur Brooke sale,
Sotheby's, 25 May 1921.   Lot 1408 to H. Yates
Thompson.

Not in Le Roux de Lincy, 1907.

Note.—The following entry has been brought to my notice by Mr. Seymour
de Ricci :

Suetonii (Caii Tranquilli) de Vitis Duodecim Caesarum, Saeculi XV.

MS. upon vellum, in double columns, with elegantly painted capitals.   In
the richly old ornamented morocco binding, with painted leaves.   The
Judgment of Paris is beautifully worked from the antique on one side, and
a Satyr and Nymph on the reverse.   A very fine specimen of binding.

The Rev. Henry Drury's sale (London, Evans, 19th Feb., 1827, p. 235,
No. 4263).   £6 to Thorpe.

This binding belongs almost certainly to this group, the plaquettes being the
same as those on VII, but I have not succeeded in tracing it, so have not
thought right to include it definitely in my list.

MORE MASSINGER CORRECTIONS [1]

By W. W. GREG

WHILE he was at Oxford John Addington Symonds bought from a local bookseller a fat quarto volume in an old worn calf binding containing eight plays of Massinger's. The volume, which is said to have come from the Harbord Library at Gunton in Norfolk and to have been sold on the death of the fourth Lord Suffield in 1853, had in it a large number of early manuscript corrections which tradition ascribed to the author himself. When, in 1877, Symonds was obliged to break up his home at Clifton and go into exile in the Alps, he gave the volume to Mr. Edmund Gosse, who has since preserved it among his dramatic treasures, though he 'unfortunately' took it to pieces and had the contents separately bound.

I take these particulars from a note contributed by Mr. Gosse to Professor A. H. Cruickshank's monograph on *Philip Massinger* (Oxford, 1920, p. 222). The fact that the fly-leaf of the original volume is preserved with several interesting inscriptions makes it possible to add a few details. One pencil note gives five guineas as, I suppose, the price at which the volume was purchased. Another is : 'Edmund Gosse from J. A. Symonds June 1877'. This suggests that the gift was made just before the final collapse of Symonds' health early that month, which prostrated him for several weeks and made life in England clearly impossible. He reached Davos,

[1] A previous article on 'Massinger's Autograph Corrections in *The Duke of Milan*, 1623', appeared in *The Library* for December 1923 (iv. 207).

accidentally, early in August, but the Clifton house was not finally abandoned till three years later. The most important inscription, however, is in ink, and, though the initials are not easy to decipher, it apparently runs: 'J A S from J A S March 7/64'. This date is after Symonds had left Oxford; it is, indeed, about that at which he settled in London at the end of a foreign tour. If he bought the volume while still in residence the inscription must mean that he gave it to his father (whose initials were the same as his own) when he left the paternal roof. It would, of course, have come into his possession again on Dr. Symonds' death in 1871.

Although the 'tradition' that the corrections were by Massinger himself was confirmed on internal grounds by Swinburne, who examined them in 1882–3, no one seems to have ventured to publish any confident opinion on the point. I am glad to be able to say that all the more extensive corrections in the plays are unquestionably autograph and that I see no reason to doubt that the smaller alterations (with possibly a few trifling exceptions) are in the same hand as the rest. Thanks to the kindness and hospitality of Mr. Gosse I have been able to make a minute examination of the quartos in question, and it is with his sanction and encouragement that I now put forward the results of the pleasant afternoons spent in his study.[1]

There are one or two peculiarities about the collection that formed the old calf-bound volume that deserve attention. On the fly-leaf already mentioned (which is really the blank A 1 of *The Bondman*) there stands a list of contents written in

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[1] My attention was first called to the corrections through the list printed by Prof. Cruickshank as an appendix to his book already mentioned. Since, however, his list only contains about half the alterations found, and is otherwise not wholly reliable, it seemed worth while undertaking a more detailed investigation.

a contemporary hand, not Massinger's. It is as follows (I add in brackets the dates of the editions) :

    1. The Bondman. [1624]
    2. The Renegadoe. [1630]
    3. The Emperour of the East. [1632]
    4. The Roman Actor. [1629]
    5. The Picture. [1630]
    6. The Fatall Dowrye. [1632]
    7. The Maid of Honour. [1632]
    8. The Duke of Millaine [1623]

These are all first editions and form a collection of Massinger's plays printed down to 1632 complete save for the omission of *The Virgin Martyr*. The earliest play not included is the *New Way to Pay Old Debts* of 1633. The obvious inference is that we here have a collection of his works made by Massinger, presumably for some friend or patron, in 1632–3. The exclusion of *The Virgin Martyr* cannot have been due to copies not being available, for though originally printed in 1622 a second edition had appeared in 1631 ; nor can it have been due to the play being partly Dekker's, since *The Fatal Dowry*, written in collaboration with Field, is included. I can only conclude that Massinger took no great pride in his share of this work.

    The corrections, which are found throughout the first four plays, cease in the second act of *The Picture*. The next two pieces have no corrections, and though a few are found in *The Duke of Milan* they are of a rather different nature from the rest. The most important in this play are two restorations of single lines cut away by the binder, while the final pages contain the imperfect correction of a recurrent error of which the author must have been previously aware : otherwise the only alterations found are trifling typographical restorations of doubtful significance, which may of course not be Massinger's at all, and are even possibly accidental. There is

no reason to suppose that *The Duke of Milan* was read through with a view to correction as the earlier plays of the volume must have been. We are perhaps justified in concluding that the collection was corrected as far as the second act of *The Picture* before being sent for binding, and that it was only when, on its return, it was discovered that *The Duke of Milan* had been cropt in the process (as nearly always happened, by the way) that the corrections in that play were added.[1]

A word should be said as to the manner in which the corrections have been made. A very large number which consist of changes of punctuation and the restoration of defective letters involve no more than small pen-marks in the text itself and are often difficult to detect. It is more than possible that in spite of my best endeavours I have still missed a few. In most cases, however, in which a change of reading or even of spelling was involved, the whole word has been struck out and re-written in the margin. This accounts for the number of small and apparently irrelevant differences of spelling that mark the corrections. On the other hand, where the correction consists in the addition of a final letter, this is often crowded in at the end of the word on the top of any punctuation there may be. In these cases it is not possible to say whether the letter was intended to be merely added or to replace the point. I have felt constrained to assume the latter in my list (e. g. 16), since the omission of the point sometimes seems desirable (e. g. 294), but it is by no means certain that this was the author's intention. That considerable care and labour have been bestowed on the work of correction is evident : at the same time it has been in some respects hastily and superficially performed. A few of the alterations appear

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[1] The treatment of the *Duke of Milan* is peculiar in two other respects. While the plays are not arranged in strict chronological order, it is rather strange to find *The Duke*, which is the earliest in date, placed last, and it will be noticed in the list that it is marked off from the rest by rules. At present I am not clear how these peculiarities are connected with that mentioned in the text.

to be themselves certainly incorrect. Many evident errors
have been overlooked. For instance, in *The Roman Actor*,
IV. ii, ' qad ' (230) is corrected, but in the previous line
' iuɣice ' still stands, and other more serious misprints in the
same play and in the later acts of *The Picture* might be quoted.

It should be added that not a few of the faults corrected
occur only in some copies of the originals. This is, of course,
true of most of the letters or words damaged through accidents
of the press, though a few seem fairly persistent. It is not
always quite easy to distinguish these cases from those where
definite corrections have been made while the sheets were
going through the press. But in examining the copies at the
British Museum I have observed a number of undoubted cases
of correction, and further search would probably reveal a few
more.[1] The list is as follows (I add the exact form of the
correction where this differs from Massinger's): in *The
Bondman*, 8 (Sicilie), 12, 14, 15 (no), 18, 19, 35, 36 [no comma],
49 (where); in *The Renegado*, 69, 77 (mande), 78–9 [variant
text in one copy], 83 [but erroneously substituted for the
prefix to the previous line]; in *The Emperor of the East*, 94,
95, 151 (If euer *but also* If feuer); in *The Roman Actor*, 158,
159, 160, 163, 166 (I would), 169 (Par.), 170 (Monarchs), 172,
216, 217, 218 (be), 219 (you *only*), 220 (tremble,) 221, 223
(moderation. Take), 224 (thee. Haue), 228 and 232, 229
(could), 230, 244 (Pinion'd).[2]

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[1] I should mention that the number of copies possessed by the Museum are,
of *The Bondman*, 1624, three; *The Renegado*, 1630, three; *The Emperor of the
East*, 1632, four; *The Roman Actor*, 1629, two; *The Picture*, 1630, two; *The
Duke of Milan*, 1623, three. Not all the copies have all the corrections; indeed
it is evident that in some instances the error and in others the correction is the
commoner reading. In one case there are three variations: in another one
copy preserves what is apparently an altogether earlier form of the text. The
copy of *The Bondman* from which the second edition (1638) was printed
contained some uncorrected readings.

[2] In 222 both the Museum copies have the variant spelling ' Hyppollitus '.

I will now give the list of three hundred corrections I have detected in six plays. These I have numbered consecutively for reference. Under each play the first column gives the act and scene according to the modern division, the second the page and line of the original quarto, the third the volume and page of Gifford's second edition. In this column an asterisk marks those corrections which are either not of a nature to affect a modernized text, or which were in substance adopted by Gifford. The fact that he often introduced a practically equivalent correction makes it impossible to distinguish satisfactorily between the two categories. The remaining columns give the original reading of the quarto as printed in the copy in question, and the reading as corrected in manuscript. In giving these readings I have not thought it desirable to retain the use of italic type, since Massinger made no attempt at distinction.

I. The Bondman, 1624

	A. & S.	1624.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
1	I. i	B 1, l. 4	ii. 5*	Timagorus.	Timagoras.
2		l. 10	*	Timagorus.	Timagoras
3		B 1ᵛ, l. 17	6	loue,	liue,
4	I. ii	B 2, l. 25	8	with	this
5		l. 28	*	me,	me ?
6	I. iii	B 3ᵛ, l. 30	13	meat	meats
7		B 4, l. 10	14*	Firmenty	Fermenty
8		l. 34	16*	surely	Sicelie
9		B 4ᵛ, l. 36	18*	giuen	giuen,
10		C 1ᵛ, l. 12	20*	Churle [rle *defective*]	Churle
11		l. 15	21	I	[*deleted*]
12		C 2, l. 1	*	Achon	action
13		l. 2	*	counsels [els *defective*]	counsailes,
14		l. 3	22*	Hand	Heard
15		l. 31	*	nor	noe
16		C 2ᵛ, l. 35	24*	Steward,	Stewards
17		C 3, l. 4	*	Amber :	Amber,
18		C 3ᵛ, l. 18	25*	scale ?	scale,
19		l. 19	*	beame.	beame ?
20		C 4, l. 13	26*	of	our
21	II. i	D 2ᵛ, l. 18	36*	fam'd	fann'd

I. THE BONDMAN, 1624—*cont.*

	A. & S.	1624.	1813.	*Reading.*	*Correction.*
22	II. i	D 2ᵛ, l. 37	ii. 37*	vayle	vale
23		D 3, l. 2		For so	For, so
24		l. 3	*	selfe ;	selfe,
25		D 3ᵛ, l. 11	38*	honour,	honour ;
26		l. 28	39*	Loose	Looseth
27			*	sent	scent
28		l. 38		owe	awe
29	II. ii	D 4ᵛ, l. 22	41*	Sir,	Sir ?
30		E 1, l. 1	42	yet	for
31		E 1ᵛ, l. 14	44	cunning	cõminge
32		l. 19	*	Cleora.	Cleora ?
33		E 2, l. 33	45*	wept ;	wept,
34	II. iii	E 3ᵛ, l. 37	50*	Chyrurgion	Chyrurgions
35	III. ii	F 2ᵛ, l. 21	58*	selfe,	selfe ?
36		l. 36		vnderstanding, parts	vnderstanding parts,
37	III. iii	G 1, l. 2	64*	now,	now (
38		l. 3	*	pride.	pride)
39		l. 18	65	worme,	wormes
40		G 1ᵛ, l. 1	*	foundation	foundation,
41		l. 8	*	too too	too
42		l. 9	*	iudgement ;	iudgement,
43		G 2, l. 25	67	Leaue her off,	Staue her of.
44		G 2ᵛ, l. 24	69*	during	daringe
45	III. iv	G 3ᵛ, l. 8	71*	Timandra.	Timago :
46		l. 30		eares	feares
47	IV. i	G 4ᵛ, l. 18	74	still	yow
48				on	on,¹
49	IV. ii	H 3, l. 30	81*	when	where,²
50		H 3ᵛ, l. 8	82	[*short line*]	[*adds*] pray you leaue mee.
51	IV. iii	I 1ᵛ, l. 30	88*	tempter	temper
52	V. i	I 4ᵛ, l. 2	95*	Cleor.	Cleora.
53		K 2, l. 26	100	recouer'd.	recouer'd ?
54	V. ii	K 4, l. 32	105*	Beyond	Beyond
55	V. iii	K 4ᵛ, l. 23	106*	not be	not to be
56		L 1, l. 22	108*	the	thy
57		L 2, l. 18	110	gods, and	gods His
58		L 3ᵛ, l. 7	113*	deuices,	deuices)
59		L 4, l. 36	116*	[*no prefix*]	Gra. [*prefixed*]

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2. The Renegado, 1630

	A. & S.	1630.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
60	I. i	B 1, l. 20	ii. 126	nose	lippe
61	. ii	C 1, l. 20	136*	you [?, u *defective*]	yow
62	I. iii	C 2, l. 13	139*	loue :	loue,³
63		l. 14		My	in My
64		l. 25	*	such ;	such,
65		C 3ᵛ, l. 3	142*	looke,	looke ?
66		C 4ᵛ, l. 20	146	least	least the ⁴
67	II. iv	D 3ᵛ, l. 1	152*	passions sute,	passions, sute
68		D 4ᵛ, l. 4	155*	owne :	owne)
69		l. 9	156*	greatnesse ?	greatnesse,
70		l. 10	*	selfe.	selfe ? ⁵
71	II. v	E 2, l. 35	160*	breach [? , h *defective*]	breache
72	III. iii	F 4ᵛ, l. 25	177*	T'will [T *defective*]	t'will
73		G 2, l. 24	180	Gennet to her Stallion	mare to her prowd Stallion
74	III. iv	G 2ᵛ, l. 20	181*	passe	passe.
75		G 3, l. 30	183	easie.	easie ?
76	III. v	G 3ᵛ, l. 24	184*	imaculate	iſmaculate
77		H 1ᵛ, l. 14	188*	made	mam'd ⁶
78	IV. i	H 3ᵛ, l. 16	193	of	[*deleted*]
79				my	my good
80	IV. ii	I 1, l. 12	197*	safet,	safetie
81	IV. iii	K 1ᵛ, l. 26	209*	tells [*indistinct*]	tells
82	v. ii	K 4ᵛ, l. 2	215*	[*no prefix*]	franci : [*prefixed*]
83	v. iii	L 2ᵛ, l. 9	221*	[*no prefix*]	Vitelli : [*prefixed*]
84	v. viii	M 2ᵛ, l. 12	232*	fore-gale	fore-right gale

3. The Emperor of the East, 1632

	A. & S.	1632.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
85	I. i	B 2, l. 21	iii. 249*	piety,	pittye
86		l. 32		musicke ?	musicke Sʳ ?
87	I. ii	C 1, l. 2	256*	off	off,
88		l. 3	*	by	by,
89		C 1ᵛ, l. 10	258*	demeaner	demeanour
90		C 2ᵛ, l. 3	260*	too	to
91		l. 13		Constantinople ?	Courte ?
92		l. 30	261*	stamp'd [m *defective*]	stamp'd
93		C 3ᵛ, l. 1	262*	ventem	vent'em
94		l. 13	*	them	their
95		C 4, l. 32	264*	care	feare
96		C 4ᵛ, l. 33	266*	Nimph.	vmph.
97		D 1, l. 24	267*	wooned	woone

3. The Emperor of the East, 1632—*cont.*

	A.& S.	1632.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
98	II. i	D 2, l. 18	iii. 269*	fixed	fix'd
99		l. 35	270*	It	Is
100		D 3ᵛ, l. 2	272*	folish	foolish
101		l. 16	*	in	in the
102		E 3, l. 19	282*	garded	guarded
103		E 3ᵛ, l. 3	*	I [*defective*]	I ?
104		E 4ᵛ, l. 4	284*	You [Y *defective*]	You
105	III. ii	F 2ᵛ, l. 27	290*	yong	yong,
106		l. 33	*	wisdome,	wisdome (
107		l. 34	*	height,	height)
108		F 3, l. 30	291	to you	[*deleted*]
109		F 3ᵛ, l. 12	292	kinde	kinde of
110		F 4, l. 6	*	I [*defective*]	I
111		G 1, l. 21	296*	ransone	ransome
112	III. iii	G 1ᵛ, l. 17	297*	garded	guarded *
113	III. iv	G 2ᵛ, l. 11	299*	sister :	sister !
114		l. 28	300*	str	Stirre
115		G 3, l. 14	*	beg	beg a
116		l. 24	301*	Sufficient	Sufficient,
117		l. 33	*	pity	pitty
118		G 3ᵛ, l. 2	*	thy	the
119		l. 19	302*	counsell,	counsell ?
120		G 4ᵛ, l. 10	304*	vse	vse,
121		l. 11	*	obserue	handle
122			*	Eudoxa	Eudoxia
123		l. 24	*	I [*defective*]	I
124		H 1, l. 5	305*	Athen.	Athenais.
125		l. 11	*	I [*defective*]	I
126	IV. i	H 1ᵛ, l. 23	306*	I [*defective*]	I
127		l. 24	*	Princesse	Empresse
128		H 2, l. 20	307	swing	swinge
129		H 2ᵛ, l. 5	308*	Ath.	Athenais.
130	IV. iv	I 1, l. 14	315*	bounties ;	bounties
131		l. 20	*	sicke	sicke,
132			*	heate	heate,
133		I 1ᵛ, l. 6	316*	Kings	Kings,
134		l. 13	*	Impossible,	Impossible !
135		l. 17		They	Hee
136		l. 24	317	fraide	defray'd
137		l. 33	*	I [*defective*]	I
138		I 2, l. 2	*	certainely :	certainely *
139		l. 5	318*	camer	cancer
140		l. 25	*	hearbes	hearbes,
141		I 3, l. 9	320	this admiration	thie admiration
142	IV. v	l. 27	321*	Pulch.	Pulcheria
143		K 1ᵛ, l. 13	327*	white	white,
144			*	red	red,

3. The Emperor of the East, 1632—*cont.*

	A. & S.	1632.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
145	IV. v	K 1ᵛ, l. 24	iii. 328*	neuer :	neuer
146			*	equall'd	equall'd.
147		K 2, l. 9	329*	pray	prey
148		l. 17	*	fee [f *defective*]	fee
149	v. iii	L 4, l. 32	343	flights	flight
150		M 1, l. 8	345	niggle	iuggle
151		M 1ᵛ, l. 3	346*	I feuer	yf euer
152		M 2ᵛ, l. 33	349	My grace on all.	[*deleted*]

4. The Roman Actor, 1629

	A. & S.	1629.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
153	ep. ded.	A 2, l. 10	ii. 329*	me,	me (
154		l. 11	*	power	power)
155	I. i	B 1, l. 12	331*	stocke	socc.
156		B 1ᵛ, l. 3	333*	vice.	vice)
157		l. 18	*	gald	galld ¹⁰
158		l. 26	*	Catta	Catti
159			*	Dacie	Daci
160		l. 29	334*	vs.	vs ?
161		B 2, l. 1	*	Sceane	Scæne
162		l. 6	*	sorrow	sorrow,
163		l. 34	335*	eb	bee
164		B 3, l. 1	337*	grieue	gieue
165	I. ii	l. 9	338*	[*stage-direction*]	[*adds*] with a letter
166		B 3ᵛ, l. 11	339*	for to	I woulde
167		l. 23	*	his	its
168		B 4, l. 13	340*	pattent.	pattent ?
169		l. 36	341*	[*no prefix*]	pa : [*prefixed*]
170			*	New workes	monarkes
171		l. 38	*	Parth.	[*deleted*]
172			*	dispute.	dispute ?
173	I. iii	C 1, l. 9	343*	Marcellus,	Marcellus (
174		l. 10	*	Rome.	Rome)
175		l. 25	344*	Deprau'd	Deprau'd,
176		C 1ᵛ, l. 9	345*	libell	libell,
177		l. 18	*	Cæsar,	Cæsar (
178		l. 19	*	compehended	comprehended)
179		l. 32	*	Condemne	Condemnd
180		C 2, l. 6	346*	which	with
181		l. 14	*	Cancillus	Camillus
182		C 2ᵛ, l. 16	347*	Arithmatique	Arithmetique
183	I. iv	C 3ᵛ, l. 4	349	and	[*deleted*]

4. The Roman Actor, 1629—*cont.*

	A. & S.	1629.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
184	II. i	C 4ᵛ, l. 26	ii. 352*	yours;	yours;
185		l. 27	353*	yeeres,	yeeres;
186		D 1, l. 12	*	Purple,	Purple!
187		l. 13	*	heyre,	heyre?
188		l. 34	354*	it,	it.
189		D 2, l. 15	355*	off	off,
190		D 2ᵛ, l. 8	357*	intelligence	intelligence:
191		l. 10	*	Ælius, Lamia	Ælius Lamia
192		D 3ᵛ, l. 9	359*	we	(we
193		l. 10	*	courtesie,	courtesie)
194		l. 16	*	doe,	doe.
195		D 4, l. 12	360*	promped	prompted
196		E 2ᵛ, l. 1	367*	me, [e, *defective*	mee
197		l. 5	*	sonne,	sonne (
198			*	liuing,	liuing)
199		l. 26	368*	redeeme [*second e defective*]	redeeme
200		E 3, l. 16	369*	haua	haue
201		E 3ᵛ, l. 16	370*	him.	him,
202		l. 17	*	me,	me.
203	III. i	E 4, l. 21	371*	words	swordes
204			*	command	command,
205		l. 22	*	you	you,
206			*	remoue.	remoue
207		E 4ᵛ, l. 8	372*	retch	reach
208		l. 15	*	mortall	immortall
209		l. 36	373*	tyrannie	tyrann
210	III. ii	F 2ᵛ, l. 27	378*	you. [*point defective*]	you.
211		F 4, l. 2	381*	circumstance,	circumstance.
212		l. 18	382*	steepie	steep
213		F 4ᵛ, l. 25	384*	has	has!
214	IV. i	G 2ᵛ, l. 13	389	not	[*deleted*]
215		l. 14		respects	respects not
216		G 4, l. 4	392*	compliant	complaint
217		H 1, l. 6	394*	both	both?
218	IV. ii	H 2, l. 1	396*	pe	bee
219		l. 2		yuu command to me	ever you coñand mee
220		l. 14	397*	tremele	tremble.
221		l. 20	*	geete	great
222		H 2ᵛ, l. 9	398*	Hypollitus	Hypolitus
223		l. 22	*	moderation take	moderation, take
224		H 3, l. 32	400*	thee, haue	thee. haue
225		l. 35	*	before	(before [11]
226			*	thee)	thee
227		l. 36	*	bosome,	bosome)
228		H 3ᵛ	*	[*page transposed*]	[*note*] this page followes the later

4. The Roman Actor, 1629—*cont.*

	A.& S.	1629.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
229	IV. ii	H 3ᵛ, l. 20	ii. 403*	would	coulde
230		l. 30	*	qad	had
231		l. 36	*	it	yf
232		H 4	402*	[*page transposed*]	[*note*] this page misplacd
233		l. 15	401*	soule	soule !
234		H 4ᵛ, l. 18	404*	This	(This ¹²
235		I 1, l. 5	*	act	are
236		l. 9	*	nor	or
237		l. 22	405	grim	[*deleted*]
238		I 2, l. 1	407*	thee ?	thee,
239		l. 6	*	however	(however
240		l. 7	*	it :	it)
241	V. i	I 4, l. 13	412*	assure	as sure
242		I 4ᵛ, l. 4	413*	still'd	stil'd
243		l. 12	*	me	me,
244		K 1ᵛ, l. 35	417*	Pinn'd	pinion'd
245		K 2, l. 7	*	passage	passage,
246		l. 11	*	follow'd	follow'd,
247		l. 32	418*	man	man,
248	V. ii	K 3, l. 31	421*	iumpe	impe
249		l. 35	*	I [*defective*]	I
250		K 3ᵛ, l. 2	*	danger	danger,
251		l. 8	*	health	health,
252		l. 14	*	hard	heard
253		l. 25	422*	neglected	neglected ?
254		K 4, l. 5	*	[*text and s.d. too close*]	[*division marked*]
255		l. 15	423*	Domitia	Domitia,
256		l. 33	424	this	'tis
257		K 4ᵛ, l. 5	*	to	to Her

5. The Picture, 1630

(corrections in the first two acts only).

	A.& S.	1630.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
258	com. v.	A 4ᵛ, l. 9	i. clx*	or [*indistinct*]	or
259		l. 10	*	write	writt
260		l. 12	*	admir'd	admire
261	I. i	B 1ᵛ, l. 15	iii. 118*	satisfie	Satietie
262		l. 26	*	if	(if
263		l. 27	*	vndertakings ;	vndertakings)
264		B 2, l. 4	119	or	Sr.
265		B 2ᵛ, l. 8	120*	mistersse	mistrisse
266		B 3, l. 8	122*	wone	woone

5. THE PICTURE, 1630—*cont.*

	A.& S.	1630.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
267	I. i	B 3, l. 10	iii. 122*	followes	[*mark added perhaps equivalent to a dash*]
268		B 3ᵛ, l. 12	124*	wracke	racke
269		B 4, l. 16	125	fight	fights
270	I. ii	B 4ᵛ, l. 13	126*	brauely,	brauelye [13]
271		C 1, l. 5	127*	time.	time,
272		C 1ᵛ, l. 9	128*	bxt	but
273		C 3, l. 35	133*	example [le *defective*]	example
274	II. i	D 3, l. 30	142*	A Post.	[*deleted*]
275		l. 32	*	horne	horne aside. A post
276		D 3ᵛ, l. 23	144*	more	more,
277		D 4, l. 3	*	deere	deere,
278	II. ii	E 1ᵛ, l. 25	149*	ranke	ranke,
279			*	file	file,
280		E 2ᵛ, l. 28	151*	In one hue.	[*deleted*]
281		l. 33	152*	Resolue	Resolues
282				her, like	acres
283		E 3, l. 32	154*	I should	should I
284		l. 34	*	manner	manners
285		E 4, l. 7	155*	enuirond	enuirond,
286		l. 8	*	arme	arme,
287		l. 9	*	fled	fled,
288		l. 11	*	dame	damne [14]
289		E 4ᵛ, l. 26	157*	I	I,
290		F 1, l. 13	158*	must	must haue
291		l. 19		double	doubld.
292		l. 22	*	mony :	mony,
293		F 1ᵛ, l. 2	159*	Idol	Idol,
294		l. 8		soulder,	souldier
295		l. 13	160	tosses	trifles

6. THE FATAL DOWRE, 1632

(no corrections).

7. THE MAID OF HONOUR, 1632

(no corrections).

8. The Duke of Milan, 1623

(corrections of a different character).

	A.&S.	1623.	1813.	Reading.	Correction.
296	I. i	B 1, l. 31	i. 239*	[*cropt in binding*]	[*repeated in margin*] against his will you may initiate hym
297		B 1ᵛ, l. 37	241*	[*cropt in binding*]	[*repeated in margin*] His guards are stronge, and sure, His coffers full
298	I. iii	C 4ᵛ, l. 14	257*	your [u *defective?*]	your
299		l. 24	*	Ruffian [R *defective?*]	Ruffian
300	v. ii	M 1ᵛ–M 4	338–45*	[*In eight cases an S has been prefixed to the incorrect* Forza *where this appears as a speaker's name.*]	

FOOT-NOTES TO THE LIST

¹ (48) The correction appears to be erroneous.
² (49) The comma is an error.
³ (62) It was perhaps intended to delete the stop altogether.
⁴ (66) Error for *the least*.
⁵ (70) The query stands for a mark of exclamation.
⁶ (77) Either *man'd* or *mann'd* is intended.
⁷ (103) In this and similar instances the correction takes the form of ' *ỹ* '.
⁸ (112) Strictly the *u* appears to have been inserted after the *a*.
⁹ (138) Possibly a comma is intended.
¹⁰ (157) Probably *galld* is intended, though it looks rather like *galed*.
¹¹ (225) The parenthesis before *that* in the same line was left standing in error.
¹² (234) The parenthesis at the beginning of the next line should have been deleted.
¹³ (270) The *y* being defective has been touched up, and an *e* added after the comma: some stop is certainly required.
¹⁴ (288) Presumably *damme* is intended.

On a rough analysis the three hundred alterations in the list are seen to fall into the following classes : (i) the reparation of accidents of the press and binding, twenty-eight; (ii) changes of intention on the part of the author, fourteen; (iii) alterations made apparently in error, five; (iv) corrections of punctuation, one hundred and eight; (v) corrections of spelling, twenty-two; (vi) corrections of small miscellaneous errors, thirty-three; (vii) corrections of more substantial errors of carelessness, twenty-four; (viii) corrections of errors due to confused copy, seven; and (ix) corrections of graphic

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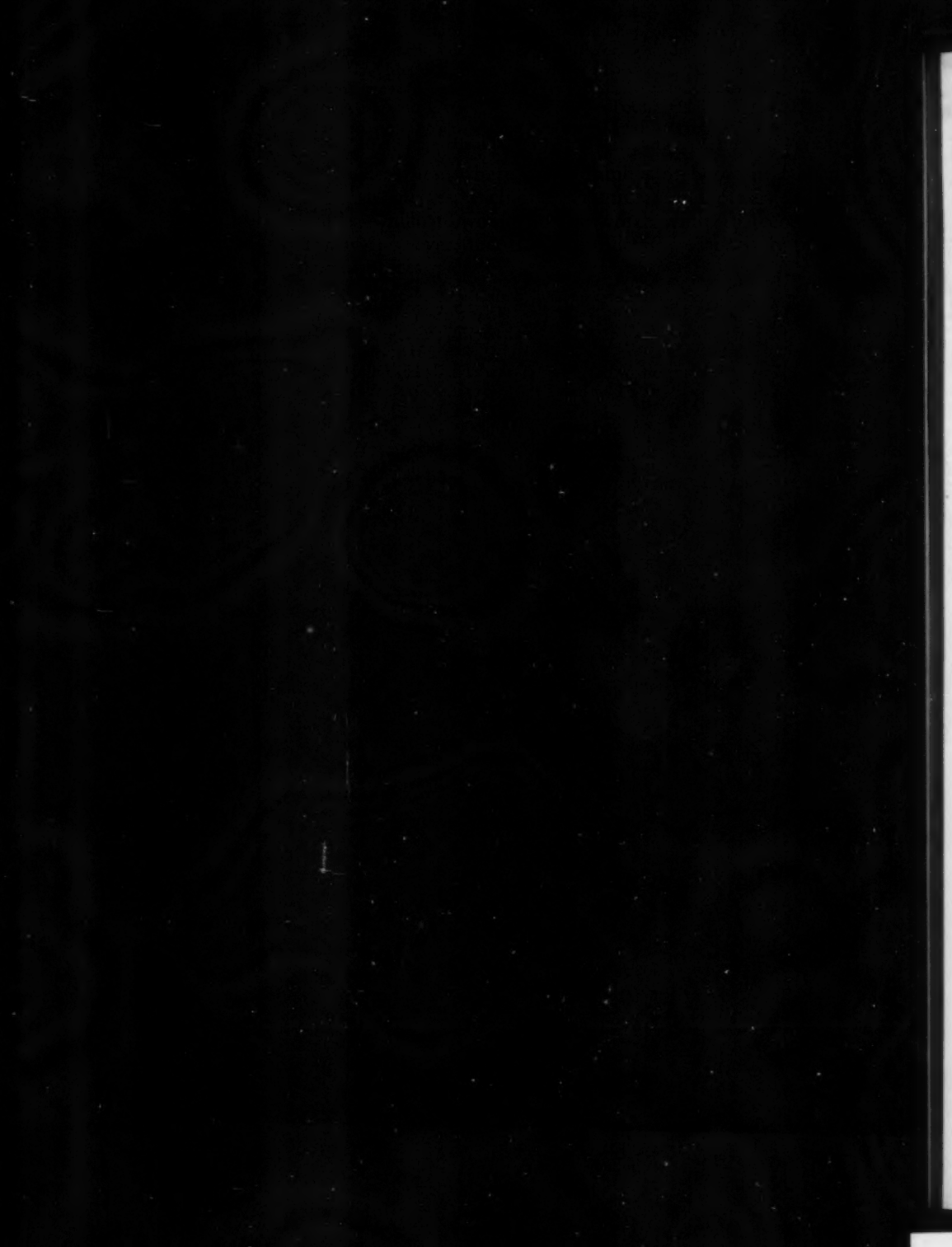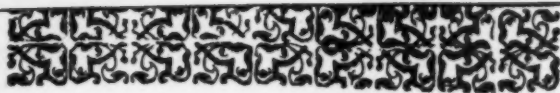
THE DVKE OF

MILLAINE.

Act. Prim. Scæ. Pri.

Graccho, Iouio, Giouanni, with Flagons.

Gra. TAke euery man his flagon : giue the oath
        To al you meet: I am this day, the state drun-
(I am sure against my will) And if you finde   (kard;
A man at ten, that's sober, hee's a Traitor,
And in my name arrest him.

    Io. Very good Sir :
But say hee be a Sexton ?

    Gra If the bells,
Ring out of tune , as if the street were burning,
And he cry 'tis rare Musicke : bid him sleepe ,
'Tis a signe he has tooke his liquour; And if you meet
An officer preaching of sobriety,
Vnlesse he read it in *Geneua* print,
Lay him by the heeles.

    Io. But thinke you tis a fault
To be found sober ?

    Gra. It is Capitall Treason,
Or if you Mittigate it, Let such pay
Fortie Crownes to the poore ; But giue a pention
To all the magistrates , you find singing catches,
Or their Wiues dauncing ; For the Courtiers reeling,
And the *Duke* himselfe , (I dare not say distemperd,
But kind, and in his tottering chaire carousing)
They doe the countrie seruice. If you meet,
One that eates bread , a child of Ignorance,
And bred vp in the darkenesse of no drinking,

this page follows the letter

Heauie on you ? away with 'em, ſtop their mouthes
I will heare no reply, O *Paris*, *Paris*   *Exeunt Guard Aretinus*,*Iulia*,*Canis*,
How ſhall I argue with thee ? how begin,
To make thee vnderſtand before I kill thee,   *Domitilla.*
With what griefe and vnwillingnes 'tis forc'd from me?
Yet in reſpect I haue fauourd thee, I will heere
What thou canſt ſpeake to qualefie, or excuſe
Thy readineſſe to ſerue this womans luſt.
And wiſh thou couldſt gſue me ſuch ſatisfaction
As I might burie *the* remembrance of it ;
Looke vp. We ſtand attentiue ;
   Par. O dread *Caſar*,
To hope for life, or pleade in the defence
Of my ingratitude were againe to wrong you.
I know I haue deſeru'd death. And my ſuit is
That you would haſten it, yet that your highnes
When I am dead(as ſure I will not liue)
May pardon me I'll onely vrge my frailtie,
Her will, and tho temptation of that beautie

coulde

Which you could not refiſt. How ~~would~~ poore I then
Fly that which fnllowd me, and *Caſar* ſude for ?
This is all. And now your ſentence.
   Ceſ. Which I know not
How to pronounce, O that thy fault had bin
But ſuch as I might pardon ; if thou hadſt
In wantonneſſe (like *Nero*) fir'd proud *Rome*
Betraide an armie, bttcherd the whole Senate,
Committed Lacriledge, or any crime
The iuſtice of our *Roman* lawes cals death,

had

I ~~had~~ preuented any interceſſion
And freely ſign'd thy pardon.
   Par. But for this
Alas you cnnnot, nay you muſt not Sir
Nor let it to poſteritie be recorded

yf

That *Caſar* vnreueng'd, ſufferd a wrong,
Which ~~Xf~~ a priuate man ſhould ſit downe with it
Cowards would baffull him.

                                   Ceſ.

errors, forty-nine.[1] These nine classes must be considered in detail.

(i) We may first dispose of the unimportant group of cases in which some accidental damage has been remedied, including the restoration of two lines cut off by the binder. I should perhaps say ' real or fancied damage ', for it is not always clear that the text stood in need of any attention (see in particular 298, 299). Massinger seems at times to have written his *J* over *I* whenever he thought the latter at all indistinct, and I suppose it must have been some fancied imperfection that led him in one place (231) to strike out *if* in the text and substitute *yf* in the margin ! The twenty-eight alterations assigned to this class are 10, 13, 61, 71, 72, 81, 92, 103, 104, 110, 123, 125, 126, 137, 148, 196, 199, 210, 231, 249, 254, 258, 270, 273, 296, 297, 298, 299.

(ii) When considering the Foljambe copy of *The Duke of Milan*[2] we found very little to suggest any change of intention on Massinger's part. Here the case appears rather different, for while it is not of course possible to be certain in every instance, some clear cases of such alteration do occur. In one place (50) Massinger adds a phrase which fills out a half line to full dimensions, while in another (152) he strikes out a phrase and leaves a half line standing. In either case we may be dealing with a confusion in the copy (such as no doubt underlies 280) and the same may also be true of two instances where Massinger reduces a redundant line to due

[1] The numbers in the classes do not add up to three hundred because two alterations often constitute but a single correction, while some are composite in nature and appear in more than one class. It will, of course, be understood that in some instances the division between classes is in a measure arbitrary, while the assignment of particular alterations to one class or another is often conjectural. The classes themselves are determined by convenience rather than logic.

[2] In the text the letters *DM* followed by a numeral refer to the corrections recorded in my former article.

proportion by a small deletion (108, 237). But there can be
no question that he elsewhere (73) altered a rather coarse
line on realizing that the word 'jennet' did not imply
a female. Revision thus established is also naturally seen in
the cases already mentioned and again where we find 'To
vvitnesse my good change' for 'To vvitnesse of my change'
(78-9),[1] 'I thinke That she respects not' for 'I thinke not
That she respects' (214-15), 'what ever you coɱand mee' for
'what you command to me' (219), and even in 236, *or* for
nor, all apparently stylistic alterations, and further in such
verbal changes as *steep* for the more fanciful *steepie* (212,
cf. *DM* 26), and *defray'd* for the rare aphetic form *fraide* (136),
for which the present is, I venture to think, the only clear
instance quoted in the *N. E. D.* Two stage-directions are
altered, one (165) by the addition of a warning that a letter
is needed, the other (183) in a manner not readily intelligible.

But by far the most interesting of these alterations occurs
at the beginning of *The Renegado* (60), where some one is
said to be

An Austrian Princesse by her Roman nose.

This line is quoted by the *N. E. D.* as the earliest instance of
the phrase in question, but to say you know the Habsburgs by
their Roman nose is, of course, nonsense; you know them by
their 'German lip'. Now *lippe* is actually given in Massinger's
correction, and that he allowed *Roman* to stand may be no
more than an oversight. It is just conceivable that the
compositor misread *German* as *Roman* and, having done so,
automatically changed *lippe* to *nose*.[2] I fancy, however, that

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[1] The original reading seems to have been 'To prooue that I haue power',
found in some copies of the quarto and apparently altered in the later impressions
of the sheet. If so, the manuscript alteration represents a further tinkering by
the author.

[2] Supposing the phrase to have been already current, which is not certain.
The second instance quoted in the *N. E. D.* is dated 1650. It is explanatory, and
certainly implies that the phrase was in use though not necessarily familiar.

there may be more than this behind the apparently innocent alteration. *The Renegado* was licensed for the stage by Sir Henry Herbert on 17 April 1624, but was not printed till 1630, being registered under his hand on 22 March. Now, on 11 January 1631 Herbert refused on political grounds to license an unnamed play of Massinger's, alleging that it contained ' dangerous matter . . . ther being a peace sworen twixte the kings of England and Spayne '. This was the piece re-submitted after alteration and duly licensed on 6 or 7 May under the ambiguous title of *Believe as you List.* The exact extent of the alterations is unknown—they involved the preparation of a fresh manuscript—but in one place the author inadvertently reproduced a phrase of the original version : ' His nose ! his German lippe ! ' This apparently did not escape the eye of the censor, for in the extant manuscript the word *German* is struck out and *very* substituted in a hand which is not Massinger's. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the official who objected to the ' German lippe ' of *Believe as you List* was also responsible for the absurd ' Roman nose ' of *The Renegado.* It is true that the treaty with Spain was not signed till 5 November 1630, but the previous negotiations lasted some considerable time.

(iii) That Massinger should have made mistakes in his alterations may seem curious, but the fact hardly admits of doubt.[1] He evidently worked rapidly and without very close attention, as is shown by the many errors he overlooked. One may recall that lists of errata, both ancient and modern, are perhaps more liable to misprints than any other compositions. Anyhow in 23 the comma should have been inserted after and not before *so,* while in 48 and 49 no comma can be tolerated at all. In 47 the sense is not greatly affected by the alteration

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[1] Besides the errors here considered there are two clear slips, *least the* for *the least* (66) and *gaurded* for *guarded* (112), due to a misplaced caret-mark, two minim-errors (77, 288) and one seeming confusion (270).

of *still* to *yow*, and I think that in making it Massinger must have overlooked the *you* in the next line. The passage, however, is not free from difficulty, and though *yow* is hardly satisfactory it is possible that some other correction is needed. Perhaps *though* would give the required sense. One last case is of greater interest. In *The Emperor of the East*, iv. i, Chrysapius says :

Howere I run the hazard of my head fort

Should it arriue at the knowledge of the Princesse . . .

and we find *Princesse* altered to *Empresse* (127). But, as Professor Cruickshank points out, this cannot be correct since the words are addressed to the empress herself. I can only imagine that Massinger wrote *Empresse* by mistake for *Emperour*.

(iv) Punctuation is responsible for the largest group of corrections, one hundred and eight, over a third of the total. There is no need to give the list in detail. The alterations vary from the most trivial to others seriously affecting the sense (e. g. 36, 267), among the most important being the correction (howbeit imperfect) of the parentheses in 225–7 and the removal of a comma in the name *Ælius Lamia* (191). The punctuation introduced by Massinger is often distinctly heavy, as in ‘ soone fading white, and red,’ (143–4) and ‘ march’d in ranke, and file,’ (278–9) and there is a noticeable partiality for parentheses where the printer (like the modern editors) was content with commas. This vast amount of punctual correction suggests either that the copy was in general lightly pointed, or that the compositor paid scant regard to it. Probably the former, for we find that *Believe as you List* varies considerably in this respect. Where Massinger is writing carefully, as in the opening passage, the punctuation is pretty full, though even here there is a tendency to leave lines unstopped at the end ; but in other portions of the manuscript, where the writing shows a more current style, the pointing is at times very defective. Punctilious in

principle, in practice Massinger seems to have been a loose writer.

(v) His interest in spelling, already observed in connexion with *The Duke of Milan* (iii, v), is evidenced in no less than twenty-two corrections. A dozen, perhaps, are such as one might expect from a careful press-reader of the time, and the quarto readings might have been included among small errors of carelessness (7, 22, 27, 54, 89, 90, 100, 157, 182, 242, 268, 288). But we also find *imaculate* for *imaculate* (76), *fix'd* for *fixed* (98), *guarded* for *garded* twice (102, 112), *pitty* for *pity* (117: also *pittye* as a correction of *piety*, 85), *prey* for *pray* according to the modern distinction (147), *Scæne* for *Sceane* (161), *Hypolitus* for *Hypollitus* (222), and finally *woone* for *wone* meaning ' won ' (266). This last was a peculiarity of Massinger's spelling (as earlier of Munday's) and it appears to have effectually concealed his meaning from the compositor, who could hardly otherwise have misread *woone* as *woond* (97). The most interesting of these alterations, however, is that of *swing* to *swinge* (128) in the line:

Her absolute sway, and swing ore the whole state.

Here, according to the *N. E. D.*, the form *swinge* is etymologically correct, but *swing* is recognized as a popular variant, for which the present passage among others is cited.

(vi) The thirty-three corrections of miscellaneous small errors include, of course, a variety of kinds. In four instances Massinger expands a name abbreviated in the quarto (52, 124, 129, 142). Turned letters, literals, and the like, including an error of imposition, account for nine more (163, 200, 218, 219, 220, 228 and 232, 230, 272, 294). Lastly, there are twenty small misprints due, so far as one can see, to mere carelessness (51, 56, 80, 99, 111, 114, 141, 149, 158, 159, 167, 195, 207, 216, 221, 229, 259, 265, 283, 300).

(vii) The more substantial errors for which carelessness seems responsible are twenty-four. In some cases it is not

hard to see how the mistake arose. It was no doubt a gap in the classical education of the compositor that was responsible for ' the buskind scæne and humble stocke ' (155). Massinger corrected the last word to *socc*, with the Latin *soccus* in mind, but we may safely assume that he wrote *socke* in the copy. If, in 164, we suppose Massinger to have written *gieue* for *give* it is hardly surprising that the compositor should have printed *grieue*. That he did write *gieue* is practically certain, for that is what he has written in the margin by way of correction, and the same queer spelling is found both in the Foljambe verses and in *Believe as you List*. We find the word *heard* misprinted *Hand* in one place (14) and *hard* in another (252) which may point to a copy-spelling *hard*, but I do not think that this can be shown to be personal. No less than twelve errors consist of the omission of a small word (55, 63, 66, 84, 86, 101, 109, 115, 257, 290) or part of a word (208, 244), the most notable of the former being *fore-gale* for *fore-right gale* (84) and of the latter *Pinn'd* for *Pinion'd* (244). The reverse tendency is illustrated by two instances, the duplication of *I* in 11 and of *too* in 41. All these are as likely to be errors of the copy as of the press. The six remaining cases are substitutions. For three more carelessness seems responsible : *with* for *this* (4), *yet* for *for* (30), and *and* for *his* (57). But in the case of *obserue* for *handle* (121), *for to* for *I woulde* (166), and *her, like* for *acres* (282), it is difficult not to suspect some definite cause. Graphic confusion seems out of the question, and I can only fall back on the conjecture of some imperfect or obscure alteration in the copy.

(viii) Of such confusions in the copy we found ample evidence in *The Duke of Milan*. The chief indications afforded by our present list are the erroneous attribution of certain speeches. The most instructive is 83, where a long speech by Vitelli is interrupted by a half line spoken by Asambeg. To this the prefix *Asam.* is correctly given, but none appears

where Vitelli's speech is resumed. The natural inference is
that the words of Asambeg were added in the margin to
complete an originally short line. (The error was observed in
the course of printing, and the printer was directed to insert
the speaker's name, *Vitelli*. But instead of adding it in the
right place he substituted it for the prefix *Asam*. Con-
sequently in the later pulls the passage shows a double error.)
In another passage (169 and 171) the speaker's prefix *Parth*.
originally stood in the quarto two lines too late. That these
two lines were a marginal addition is borne out by the fact
that they contain the extraordinary misprint of *New workes*
for *monarkes*, which could hardly have occurred unless the
writing had been so crowded as to be illegible. (Here again
a partial correction was made in the course of printing : the
prefix *Par.* was inserted in its right place, and *Monarchs* duly
supplied, but the incorrect *Parth.* was left standing.) In two
other cases (59, 82) the omission of the speaker's name may
be a mere oversight, while in 45 we may suppose that the
copy had *Tima.*, which the compositor expanded as *Timandra*
instead of *Timagorus*. But the necessary rearrangement of
274–5 shows that the words *A post*, which belong to the text,
have got tacked on to a stage-direction, which in the quarto
stands two lines above, but was most likely written in the
margin of the copy. Finally, a detached and unmeaning half
line, which now stands in the middle of a long speech (280),
is perhaps attributable to an obscure alteration by the author
himself rather than to a careless cut by the prompter as
Gifford supposed. Seven corrections have been considered
under this head.

(ix) At last we come to the important class of graphic con-
fusions, to which forty-nine errors may be plausibly assigned.
A curious group of seven consists of the erroneous omission of
a final *s* (6, 16, 34, 39, 269, 281, 284), and to them may also
probably be added the *Loose* which Massinger corrects to

Looseth (26), but which we may suspect to have been *Looses* in the copy. (A solitary instance of the erroneous insertion of final *s*, in 149, is less likely to be a reflex error than a mere slip.) The omissions are indeed confined to two plays, *The Bondman* and *The Picture*, but as these were printed by different firms at a distance of six years, we must look less to the compositor than to the author for an explanation. And I think we shall find it in a particular irregularity of his writing. Massinger's hand is, of course, of a very mixed type, but he usually makes a bold English final *s* which no compositor could mistake. Occasionally, however, he uses a final *s* of the small Italian type, which, since it occurs but rarely, might, if carelessly formed, be easily mistaken for a comma or even overlooked. Another peculiarity, for which it is less easy to account but which must presumably have a graphic origin, is the omission of an initial *s* or *f*, as in *words* for *swordes* (203), *eares* for *feares* (46), and *care* for *feare* (95). It would seem that in these cases, in which the error is the reverse of one previously observed (*DM* 6), the compositor must have mistaken the long initial letter for a descender from the line above.

Most of the other confusions are of recognized types. A number are minim errors, as *m* for *nn* in 21 and *nn* for *m* in 31. We find *them* for *their* in 94, and a glance at the first page of *Believe as you List* will show how close the resemblance is. In *Cancillus* (181) we have *nc* for *m* and in *camer* (139) the reverse. Here Massinger writes his correction *cancer* in the margin, and I think that apart from the sense any one would read it as *camer*! In 248, where the quarto has *iumpe* for *impe*, the minim error was probably helped by the compositor's ignorance of field sports. A very simple one is *niggle* for *iuggle* (150) in the passage:

> Take heed daughter,
> You niggle not with your conscience,

but it elicited a pseudo-learned note from Gifford, and has become the authority for a sense ' to trifle (†*with* a thing) ' in the *N.E.D.*, which must be rejected. That Massinger was prone to these minim errors is shown by his very corrections, for in place of *dame* (288) he writes *damne*, apparently by mistake for *damme*, and in place of *made* (77) he writes *mam'd*, certainly by mistake for either *man'd* or *mann'd*. This last quarto error is difficult to explain, but possibly *made* (which offers a certain sense) arose through a *mãde* in the manuscript (it is corrected to *mande* in some copies of the original). Minim confusions can also be traced in other more complicated cases. If, in 209, Massinger wrote *tyrann* (i. e. 'tyrant'), the compositor (perhaps unfamiliar with the form) may have misread the second *n* as *ie* when he printed *tyrannie*. So too *where* was misread *when* in 49. The misprint *surely* for *Sicelie* (8) is partly a minim error ; the confusion of *r* and *c* being another recognized possibility of Massinger's hand (*DM* 28), which reappears in *act* for *are* (235). Here we also get *t* for *e*, and when our author writes an English *e* rather large, as he often does, the resemblance with *t* is sometimes striking, so much so that we apparently even get the reflex error of *e* for *t*, as in *piety* for *pittye* (85) and *Leaue* for *Staue* (43, the confusion of Italian *S* and *L* being common).

Massinger's *e*'s are responsible for a good deal of trouble. If he writes an English *e* it is liable to confusion, not only with *t*, but of course with *d* as well (97, 260 : though in the former case the error could hardly have arisen but for the eccentric spelling). Similarly his *d* is mistaken for *e* (179, 291). If, on the other hand, he writes a Greek *ε* (he seldom uses the Italian form) it may either be mistaken for *r* (15) or for *y* (118 : the reverse error in 56 is apparently a slip), and a study of his manuscript shows that the printer is hardly to blame. This partly accounts for the appearance of *They* in place of *Hee* (135). *Hee* is what Massinger has written in the margin, and

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it is, including the capital, his usual spelling. But as our author is otherwise sparing of capital letters, it was not difficult for the compositor to mistake his print-like *H* for a badly formed Italian *th*. Massinger's *a* is misread as *u* (1, 2, 44) and as *o* (28); his *i* and *o* get confused (3) and possibly his *o* and *u* likewise (31). In *action* the *ti* has been misread as an Italian *h* (an easy error) and the word consequently printed in italic as *Achon* (12). The substitution of *which* for *with* (180) seems to show that the latter was sometimes contracted (cf. *DM* 31). The use of the contraction *o*^{r} is presumably responsible for *of* appearing by mistake for *our* (20), and some further confusion may explain our finding *or* in place of *S*^{r}. (264), for it will be observed that Massinger sometimes writes *s*^{r} with so small an *s* as to resemble *o*^{r}. Confusions presumably graphic, but which do not appear to be traceable to any personal peculiarity, are *this* for *'tis*, perhaps written *t'is* (256), *satisfie* for *Satietie* (261), and *tosses* for *trifles* (295 : see below, p. 86). The error *assure* for *as sure* (241) is most likely a misreading of the manuscript, since only there could there be any ambiguity as to whether an *s* was final or not. Massinger sometimes uses a short Italian *s* both at the beginning and end of words. We may, therefore, perhaps suppose the other error of division, *I feuer* corrected to *yf ever* (151), to be likewise a misreading.[1] As a general rule Massinger's word-division is very clear.

Three curious errors require further discussion. In 96 we get the astonishing *Nimph* corrected to *vmph*. I do not know what form Massinger's capital *V*, if he ever used such a letter, took, but I see no reason to suppose that it resembled *N*.[2]

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[1] Possibly, however, *If euer* became *I feuer* through an accident of the press, and this was miscorrected to *If feuer*. All three readings are found in various copies, and the order is uncertain.

[2] Of course, a small *v* might, and in Massinger's hand sometimes does, resemble a certain form of capital *N* (that made like a small letter with an exaggerated first minim), but I am not clear that this form was sufficiently

But we may perhaps conjecture that in the copy the word was written *Humph*. Massinger's print-like *H* might, I think, be mistaken for *N*, but I should add that the confusion possibly occurred in English hands as well (see *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. J. D. Wilson, pp. 110–11). In 170 *New workes* is corrected to *monarkes*. The writing must, one would suppose, have been rather obscure to allow of *mon* being turned into *new w*, and we have already found independent evidence that the passage was a marginal addition. We have also seen that *a* and *o* were capable of confusion (28, above). But it is possible that the error here was rather more complicated. It should be noticed that in writing his correction in the margin Massinger made an *a* of the well-recognized form in which the minim is detached from the circle, and which is therefore liable to be misread as *or* (see *Shakespeare's Hand in 'Sir Thomas More'*, pp. 82, 120). When we remember that Massinger's *r* is also liable to confusion with *c*, it seems not improbable that the compositor misread *ark* as *orck* though he printed *ork*. It is, of course, clear that the copy had the spelling *monarkes* like the correction : when, in the course of printing, the error was corrected the word was spelt *Monarchs*. Lastly, in 91, *Constantinople* is corrected to *Courte*. Since the court is at Constantinople the sense in the quarto is quite satisfactory, but the metre clearly shows that *Courte* must be the original reading. How then did the error arise? I can only conjecture that the compositor misread *Courte* as *Conple* and took this to be a contraction for *Constantinople*. A small accidental mark might easily turn Massinger's *r* into *p*, while another (possibly part of the same offset) may have supplied a contraction mark above !

It is time to consider what light the corrections throw on the work of Massinger's editors. A good many of the errors

common at the time to make confusion possible. I do not think that Massinger's *v* could be mistaken for a small *n*.

corrected occur, as we saw, in certain copies only of the
originals, and these (so far as they have been ascertained) were
finally purged from the text by Gifford, to whose credit it
must be said that he was not always content to rely upon one
copy only of an early print.   A number of other corrections
of spelling and punctuation are not of a sort to affect a text
in which these details were modernized.   Further, there are
many small corrections that would be made by any competent
editor as a matter of course.   Among these we may perhaps
reckon as of some interest eighteen, all of which reached
Gifford from his predecessors (viz. 16, 45, 56, already found
in the second edition of *The Bondman*, 1638 ;   21, 55, 97,
155, 164, 179, 181, 241, 260, 281, made by Coxeter ; 34, 252,
259, 283, 284, added by Mason).   The number of more
important corrections which are found in Gifford's text
number twenty-nine, of which perhaps four (84, 96, 274-5,
280) deserve special commendation.   Out of the twenty-nine
corrections, fourteen are due to Coxeter (41, 59, 82, 83, 85,
139, 208, 209, 242, 248, 261, 267, 274-5, 290 : the very
creditable arrangement in 274-5 being proposed in a note
and silently appropriated by Gifford), seven to Mason (26, 44,
51, 171, 180, 203, 280 : the second in a note), and eight to
Gifford (20, 84, 96, 101, 115, 212, 225-7, 257).[1]   It should,
however, be remarked that although, according to Gifford,
' Mr. M. Mason tried to reform [225-7], but failed ', his
proposed arrangement only needs a comma after *Bosom* to be
perfectly correct ;   and that in 84 Mason got as near the truth
as *right Fore-gale*, Gifford restoring *fore-right gale* by com-
parison with *The Bondman*, III. iii (1624, GIᵛ, l. 10).   A few
other points should also be noticed.   In 44, where Gifford

[1] The correction 212 does not appear to be necessary, and the alteration was
probably made by Massinger on stylistic grounds.   If so, Gifford's taste agreed
with his author's, though that hardly justifies his editorial method.   It may,
of course, occur in some copies of the original.

merely printed *daring,* Mason retained *during* in the text with
the note, ' *Daring,* unless *during* shall mean *enduring* ', which
at least showed proper caution. In 169–71 Coxeter had the
misfortune to print from a copy of the original containing
the corruption. Mason left the text as he found it, but in
a note he actually arrived by conjecture at the correct read-
ings (except that he needlessly altered *that* to *who*). Gifford
blamed Mason, perhaps justly, for not consulting the original,
but showed no appreciation of the considerable critical feat
he had achieved. In 209 Coxeter, of course, altered *tyrannie*
to *tyrant* instead of Massinger's *tyrann*. Gifford, retaining
tyrant, remarked, ' I have not removed Coxeter's emendation
from the text ; though it seems, by no means, necessary.'
The meaningless half line of 280 was rightly removed from
the text by Mason. He made no mention of the fact, but
this is the only justification I can find for Gifford's statement
that he ' gave the passage unfaithfully '. Gifford, of course,
omitted it likewise, noting that ' There is both an imperfec-
' tion and a redundancy in this speech, as it stands in the old
' edition '. What imperfection he found I do not know.
Gifford deserves credit for his ingenious restoration of *Umph*
for *Nimph* in 96, where Coxeter and Mason had been content
with a makeshift *Ha !* In 165 he recognized, like Massinger,
the necessity for the letter, though he introduced it in a
separate direction some lines below.

The other side of the picture is even more interesting.
There are some fifty passages in which Gifford's text does
not incorporate even approximately the alterations made by
Massinger. These include six out of the seven in which the
author may be taken to have altered his original intention,
and the four or five in which the alteration he made appears
to be wrong. There remain just forty. In fourteen there is
on the face of it no particular reason to suspect error, and
Gifford cannot be blamed for leaving apparent well alone (see

6, 53, 66, 109, 118, 128, 136, 149, 150, 167, 183, 235, 236, 291).[1] In thirteen others he left the text as it stood, although in some cases it was manifest nonsense, and in all there were indications which should, I think, have aroused an editor's suspicions. In nine instances he saw clearly that the text was wrong, but failed to hit the right alteration. Lastly, in four (curiously enough all in *The Bondman*) he rejected correct emendations introduced by his predecessors. The last three groups require attention.

In several passages Gifford was at pains to defend the erroneous readings of the quartos. In 11, where the line in the original runs :

Ile saue my lips, I rest on it.—He thinkes women . . .

instead of omitting the *I*, as sense and metre demand, Gifford explained the phrase as equivalent to ' I am fixed, determined, ' on it ; a metaphor taken from play, where the highest stake ' the parties were disposed to venture, was called *the rest* '. But there is no evidence that in this sense the word was ever used verbally, and it seems very doubtful whether the phrase could bear the supposed meaning. Again, in 57 the quarto has :

Next to the Generall, and the gods, and fautors . . .

' which, in the language of the author, means the *favouring* gods ', says Gifford confidently. But the author apparently did not agree, for he corrected it to ' the gods His fautors '. ' Alas, for Massinger ! ' as his editor remarks. And in 295 Honoria, dispensing bounty, is made to say : ' for other tosses take A hundred thousand crownes,' ' Meaning, perhaps,' says Gifford, ' *for trash to fling away* ', a suggestion for which there appears no warrant. The *N.E.D.*, quoting the passage, suggests doubtfully ' a payment '. Indeed, the true correction *trifles* is not very obvious.

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[1] I give him the benefit of 150, though only a very elementary palaeographical knowledge is required for the detection of the error. He actually annotated the passage.

In most instances, however, Gifford passes over the difficulty without comment. In 31 the quarto reads:

> your true Courtier knowes not
> His Neece, or Sister from another woman,
> If she be apt and cunning.

This is superficially so plausible that it would certainly require closer attention than Gifford was in the habit of bestowing to perceive that *cunning* does not really fit the context. Once this is realized, however, emendation should not be difficult, for the use of *coming* in the sense of ‘ forward ’ is well recognized from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 294 the sense is hardly in question: Gifford, of course, corrected the slight misspelling of the quarto, but instead of removing the unnecessary comma, as Massinger appears to have done, he actually replaced it by a semicolon, which no system of punctuation could approve. In two passages false grammar (39, 135) and in one false metre (91) should have warned a editor that something was amiss, but, whereas in the former two the correction was sufficiently obvious, no one could be expected to guess that *Constantinople* was a misprint for *Courte* ! In 141 the awkwardness of the repetition in ‘ cease this admiration at this obiect ’ might have suggested that the first *this* should be *thie*.

Four cases remain that are all pretty evident nonsense. Gifford seems quite unperturbed by the Austrian princess with a Roman nose (60). When the quarto makes Theodosius say that he has delivered Eudoxia ‘ into your handes, to vse And obserue, as you please,’ he does not attempt to explain the sense or accent of *obserue*, for which Massinger substitutes *handle* (121). If he found any meaning in the lines (264):

> If I am so rich or
> In your opinion, why should you borrow
> Additions for me?

he kept it to himself: the simple substitution of *Sᵗ.* for *or*

makes the passage clear.   Finally, in 282 (where the context
is too long to quote), how he can have thought that *her*, *like*
made any possible sense is hard to guess, though one may
well doubt whether the most ingenious of editors would have
devined that the proper emendation was *acres* !

Against these may be set the nine cases in which Gifford
seems to have perceived that the quarto reading could not
stand, but accepted a wrong emendation into his text.   As
a matter of fact, in some instances he has silently taken over
an alteration made by one of his predecessors, and I question
whether his boasted consultation of the old copies had been
sufficiently minute to warn him that he was departing from
the original reading.   In any case, three of these false emenda-
tions are due to Coxeter, namely :   *your gadding* instead of
this gadding, where the quarto reads ' I cannot brooke with
gadding ' (4) ;   *Lead* instead of *Staue*, where the quarto has
' Leaue her off ' (43) ;   and *fight begin* instead of *fights begun*
(i. e. *fight 's begun*), where the quarto has ' yet ere the fight
begun ' (269).   In three other instances Gifford silently
introduced false emendations of his own where his predecessors
had been content to reproduce the faulty readings of the
quartos.   Thus in 108 he omitted *madam* instead of *to you*
from the line :

Auert it heauen.—Heauen is most gratious to you, madam ;

in 237 he omitted *with* instead of *grim* from the line :

And stood grim death now within my view and his . . .

while in 256 (where the context is lengthy) he got round the
impossibility of the reading ' and in you this murther ' by
supposing the sense broken (printing ' murder,— ') instead
of changing *this* to *'tis*.   The three remaining cases were the
subject of annotation.   In 63, where the quarto reads :

I must expresse my loue :
My aduise, and counsell.   You are young
And may be tempted . . .

he correctly replaced the colon by a comma, but in the next line, which is obviously defective, he added at the end the name *Vitelli*, 'which seems to have dropt out at the press,' instead of prefixing *in* at the beginning, though even apart from authority this is clearly the preferable emendation. In 75 the quarto ends a speech with the line:

And what are your employments? neat and easie.

Gifford observed that ' The old copy has no mark of interroga-'tion after *easy*, which seems to prove that the [last three] 'words originally belonged to' the next speech, to which he therefore transferred them. The emendation was creditable; but, after all, it is much simpler to supply the query. Lastly, in 86, the quarto prints the defective line:

What meanes this solemne musicke?—It vshers . . .

to which Gifford supplied the word *Sir*, ' the most innocent one that occurred to me ', and which has the merit of being correct; but he inserted it at the beginning of the second speech instead of at the end of the first. This was sheer bad luck.

We have seen that in thirteen cases Gifford either tacitly accepted or actively defended the quarto text where it was more or less obviously in error. The four passages in *The Bondman* in which he returned to the original reading, reject-ing the correct emendations of his predecessors, deserve close attention. In 30 the text runs in the quarto:

Remember too, I charge you
To teach my Horse good manners; yet this morning,
As I rode to take the ayre, th'untutor'd Iade
Threw me, and kic'kd me.

In this Coxeter made the simple and correct substitution of *for* in place of *yet*. Gifford silently restored *yet*, placing it, however, before instead of after the semicolon. It may be questioned whether this is really a less violent alteration, and it gives at best but a strained sense. It would have been

better to have left the punctuation as it was and have in-
terpreted *yet* in the obsolete sense of 'yet again'. Indeed,
it is just possible, though not I think likely, that this was the
author's original intention. Again, at the very beginning of
the play, the quarto gives Leosthenes the awkward, though
perhaps not impossible speech : 'In that trust I loue' (3).
Gifford, following it in the reading *loue*, remarked that 'In
the modern editions it is unnecessarily altered to *live*.' In
point of fact, it is *live* in Mason's text alone, and the altera-
tion, which is correct, certainly improves the sense. In the
course of II. i, Leosthenes, warning Cleora of the dangers of
the court, says in the quarto (28) :

> when nor Father
> Is here to owe you ; Brother to aduise you ;
> Nor your poore seruant by . . .

Gifford following this remarked : '*Owe* (i. e. own) . . . is
'evidently right. The *property* of Cleora was in the father :
'this is distinguished from the only right the brother had ;—
'*to advise*. The modern editors, not comprehending this,
'sophisticate the text, and print—*here to* awe *you!*' Apparently
Massinger, too, failed to comprehend this fine distinction, for
awe is his own correction. Last of all, at the end of Act III,
the quarto has a particularly absurd misprint, representing
Cleora's anger as ' Rising from your too amorous eares ' (46).
Coxeter was evidently asleep, for he printed *ears*, which
Mason ' corrected at random ' (according to Gifford) to *Fears*.
Gifford himself chose to print *cares*, remarking that Mason's
' correction was not amiss ; but the genuine word is un-
doubtedly that which I have given.' Oh irony ! *feares* not
cares was what the author meant.[1]

Perhaps there are lessons for all of us in the tricks which

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[1] Though not strictly relevant I cannot refrain from mentioning one other
trap into which Gifford fell. It will be remembered that in a passage in *The
Renegado* Massinger altered ' To vvitnesse of my change ' to ' To vvitnesse my
good change ' (78–9). Gifford, of course, knew nothing of this and followed the

fate has played on the editors of Massinger. For my own part I confess that after many years' devotion to ultra-conservatism in the textual field, the close study of independent sources—not in Massinger alone, but in earlier dramatists as well—has bred some suspicion of the assumed looseness of Elizabethan thought, syntax, and vocabulary, and consequently a deeper sense of the necessity of emendation, though perhaps seldom greater tolerance of individual proposals. To be critically acceptable an emendation must satisfy two criteria : it must afford an absolutely satisfactory text, and it must explain the corruption. Such evidence as we are able to bring to bear—for instance, these corrections of Massinger's—does, I think, tend to show that true emendations generally fulfil these tests, and it is encouraging that this should be so. But emendation remains, notwithstanding, a difficult and a thorny business, and there are two limitations to what I have just said that require to be borne in mind. For one thing the authentic text of even the best writer is by no means always absolutely satisfactory in the first instance ; for another corruptions do occur, the causes of which seem beyond discovery. In either of these cases it is evident that, even should a correct emendation suggest itself, it must fail to satisfy one or other criterion, and can never prove wholly acceptable.

quarto reading. He appended, however, the following note : ' The reader must ' be convinced, long ere this, that the modern editions of Massinger offer a very ' inadequate representation of his works. Numerous as the errors pointed out ' are, a still greater number have been corrected in silence : of these the source ' is generally obvious ; here, however, is one for which no motive can be ' assigned ; it is a gratuitous and wanton deviation from the original, that no ' degree of folly can justify, no excess of negligence account for :—In Coxeter ' and Mr. M. Mason the passage stands thus—" To prove that I have power " ! ' Neither folly nor negligence is needed to justify (if it ever could) or account for this reading, which is that of certain copies of the original. It was, I think, subsequently altered by the author, but is not on the face of it wrong. That ' the modern editions of Massinger offer a very inadequate representation of his ' works' is unhappily still true.

WORK OF OTHER SOCIETIES

THE NEW PALAEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Of the twenty-five plates of facsimiles recently issued four are Greek, twelve Latin, three Latin and Anglo-Saxon, and one English. The annual report describes the first of these as ' a curious effusion found among the papers of Zenon, a Greek official in Egypt in the middle of the third century B.C. Zenon had lost a favourite hound, which had sacrificed itself in saving its master's life from a boar. He had evidently commissioned a local poet to compose an epitaph on the faithful animal, and the poet had sent him two alternative versions, one in elegiacs and the other in iambics. Palaeographically the hand is a broad, well-written script of the period, showing considerable kinship to the literary style. In marked contrast to this is a banker's receipt of A.D. 155–6, likewise on papyrus, written in a very heavy, knobbed hand, pretentious and ugly, with few real ligatures, though the letters are often in contact. Two Biblical MSS. on vellum are represented, one a copy of the Acts and Epistles written in 1009, in a clear, fluent, but not very regular minuscule ; the other containing the Gospels, written in 1272, probably at St. Saba, in a very small minuscule, which recalls the equally small hands characteristic of the Latin Vulgate MSS. of the same period.

' The Latin hands begin with a Caroline minuscule of 811, with occasional earlier forms. The place of origin is Poitiers, and Spanish influence appears in the orthography and abbreviations. More definitely Spanish, and probably from a point farther to the south of France, is a collection of calendar computations, dating from the following year. The scriptorium of Corbie is represented by a Sacramentary of the second half of the tenth century, in a rather heavy minuscule,

with small uncials in the titles. Next comes a remarkable bilingual MS., containing the Latin Psalter with an Anglo-Saxon translation in parallel columns, written in England in the first half of the eleventh century. For the first fifty psalms the translation is in prose, of West Saxon character ; the remainder is in verse, with dialectical differences which appear to be East Anglian. The page is unusually tall in proportion to its width, and the writing is clear and handsome. Small miniatures, in the outline style characteristic of South England before the Conquest, are interspersed. Another MS., bilingual in the sense that it contains English matter as well as Latin, is a collection of astronomical and other writings, compiled at or near Durham in the reign of Henry I. Some pen-drawings of zodiacal signs serve as illustrations. Slightly later is a Valerius Maximus, written in Champagne in 1167 by an English scribe, Willelmus Anglicus, whose hand is a good example of twelfth-century writing which has just passed its best point. To the end of the same century belongs a fine copy of the minor works of Ralph de Diceto, probably a presentation copy for the Chancellor, William de Longchamp.

' Not much later in date, but showing the completed change from the lively and attractive twelfth-century hands to the solider and heavier style of the thirteenth, is a Psalter, written for Robert de Lindeseye, Abbot of Peterborough (1216-1222), with a very handsome initial B and other miniatures, which are fine examples of the reviving English school. A rather unusual palaeographical source is tapped in the next plate, from a Missal written in the diocese of Toulouse in 1298-1299. The writing is squarer, rougher, and less handsome than the contemporary hands of northern France. Classical texts are represented by a British Museum Livy, of which the earlier part, written in the thirteenth century, was illustrated in Part V of the present Series, while the later portion, written in the fourteenth century, in a southern hand, is shown here.

'The next two plates are of artistic rather than palaeo-graphical interest. The last stage of English illumination before its decline is represented in the Breviary of Archbishop Chichele, from Lambeth, written early in the fifteenth century, with finely executed borders and historiated initials. The artist's name, Herman, supports the theory of a German element in the English style which produced the magnificent volumes which mark the reign of Richard II, though the scribe of the finest of them all, the Sherborne Missal, is unquestionably English. As a contrast to this, a page of the sumptuous Florentine school is given, executed in 1457 by Gherardo del Ciriagio, one of the best known of the scribes who worked for the Medici.

'To illustrate the ordinary English writing of the fifteenth century, two examples are given from the Paston Letters, one in the hand of Agnes Paston, the other in that of a clerk. Finally, the diplomatic series is continued by two charters of the reign of Richard I, one in a cursive charter-hand, the other (a chartulary copy of the same document) in a book-hand ; and by extracts from Exchequer Receipt Rolls of 1311, in characteristic exchequer-hands of the period.'

Despite the dignity conferred on the Society by one of the members of its Advisory Committee being now His Holiness Pope Pius XI and another His Eminence Cardinal Ehrle it is still suffering from loss of members consequent on the War. An influx of new members, especially of new members able to buy Parts 1–5 of the present series of its facsimiles (all of them still in print), will quicken its return to the pre-War scale of publication. The address of the Secretary is J. P. Gilson, Esq., British Museum, Bloomsbury, London, W.C. 1.

THE MALONE SOCIETY.—Annual Report, 1924. 'Since the last annual report the publications for the two years 1922 and 1923 have been issued to members. For the former year these

consist of *The Christmas Prince*, edited by Professor Boas and Dr. Greg from the MS. at St. John's College, Oxford, together with the extra volume, *Alcazar and Orlando*, presented by the General Editor ; and for the latter year *John a Kent*, edited, through the kindness of Messrs. Quaritch, from the Mostyn MS. by Miss St. Clare Byrne, and a part of the Society's Collections consisting mainly of Professor Moore Smith's extracts from the bursarial and other accounts of Cambridge colleges, which constitute the main material on which is based his recent book on *College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge*.

' For the present year forces are being joined with the Walpole Society over *The Court Masques of Inigo Jones*. This volume will contain a complete catalogue of the Duke of Devonshire's collection of original scenic and costume drawings by Mr. C. F. Bell of the Ashmolean Museum, and an essay on the Masque in Stuart times by Mr. Percy Simpson, together with about fifty collotype plates including one in colour.

' For the year 1925 the publications will be chosen from among the following : *Edmond Ironside* from MS. Egerton 1994, Massinger's *Parliament of Love* from the Dyce MS., *The Spanish Tragedy* of 1602 from the British Museum copy (the only perfect copy known of the earliest edition with the additions), *Edward II* from the copy of the first edition in the Landesbibliothek at Cassel, and a part of the Collections to include documents from the Lord Chamberlain's office, edited by Mr. Allardyce Nicoll.

' The Society has to regret the loss by death of Dr. Henry Bradley, Professor W. P. Ker, Mr. Graham Milward, Mr. H. Oelsner, and Mr. H. F. House. Three members have resigned, but the entry of six new members makes the number on the roll this year approximately the same as that of 1922.'

NOTES ON OLD BOOKS

SIMULTANEOUS PRINTING. Discussing Massinger's *Duke of Milan* (1623) in a recent number of *The Library* (iv. 209), I mentioned that it would be interesting to obtain definite evidence of the suspected practice of beginning the printing of the two formes of one sheet simultaneously on separate presses. I have recently met with another apparent instance of somewhat later date in G. Gerbier D'Ouvilly's *False Favourite Disgraced*, 1657 (8°). As originally set up all four signatures of sheet 'C' seem to have been misprinted 'D', but the errors were observed and rectified in the course of printing, and, one would naturally suppose, all at one time. Now, in the copy in the British Museum it is the signatures of the inner forme (C2, C4) that are misprinted, those of the outer forme being correct, while in the Bodleian copy it is the signatures of the outer forme (C1, C3) that are misprinted, those of the inner forme being correct. One would like to know whether this is always so. Of course, the same result would follow from so-called 'half-sheet imposition', but it is unlikely that this method was ever employed in the seventeenth century except for actual half-sheets.

W. W. GREG.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

HR. NIELSEN, whose excellent bibliography of Danish books printed up to 1550 was reviewed in *The Library* for December 1920, has now given us the results of his researches into the next fifty years of typography in his native country. His new book is as well produced and runs as nearly as possible on the same lines as its predecessor, but as the material for a complete bibliography of the period is still in process of collection a short-title list of editions so far recorded has been substituted for the detailed descriptions of the earlier volume. The percentage of addenda, however, can scarcely be very high, inasmuch as the libraries of Scandinavia and Germany have already been systematically searched. Hr. Nielsen's examination of the typographical material is again admirable both for method and completeness. It shows, as might be expected, that the types have by this date reduced themselves to a limited number of stock founts used in all the offices, and that most of the ornaments, with the exception of the small flowers, are also more or less common property. Nevertheless, these systematic tests have been largely instrumental in enabling him to set in their proper places over 150 books hitherto classed as uncertain on the score of their lacking either date or imprint or both—a notable justification of Proctorian methods as applied to post-incunabula.

The second half of the sixteenth century was the golden age of Danish book-production, which by about 1580 had reached a standard never equalled before or since. In its general characteristics it naturally continued, as in the

beginning, to be influenced by German practice, although the leading craftsmen were now no longer Germans but Danes. Hr. Nielsen points out that the book-trade benefited very greatly by its virtual concentration at this time in Copenhagen, where all but about sixty of the 900 editions in his list were printed ; conditions were thereby rendered more stable and the court and aristocracy of the capital proved enlightened patrons. The most conspicuous figure of the period was Lorenz Benedicht, whose career as a master-printer began in 1561—the date 1552 found in one solitary edition being plausibly explained as a misprint—and continued without interruption until 1601. His total output is reckoned at some 350 editions, of which about 100 are now known only from references, and includes all kinds of literature, both Latin and vernacular, together with some notable illustrated work. In 1565 he obtained from King Frederick II, with whom he stood high in favour, a patent of monopoly of printing in Denmark. For some years he had already been without any serious competitor and he succeeded in keeping this position unchallenged until 1570, by which date his great rival Mads Vingaard had become so firmly established as to make the monopoly a dead letter. Vingaard's first efforts go back to 1562 and, like Benedicht, he went on printing to the very end of the century, over 200 editions standing in his name. Between them Benedicht and Vingaard practically controlled the Danish market for a generation and were themselves directly responsible for more than half the total of books printed in the country during the half-century, so far as can be gathered from Hr. Nielsen's list. Of the seven other firms working in the capital at different times those connected with Hans Stockelmann, father and son, and Andreas Gutterwitz were the most important.

Outside Copenhagen book-printing on commercial lines was almost entirely confined to Slesvig, where a German

named Nicolaus Wegener produced fifty or more editions between 1581 and 1605. Special interest, however, attaches to two private presses which were the property of two of the most distinguished Danes of the period. A paper-mill, a bindery, and a very well-equipped printing office formed part of Tycho Brahe's magnificence during the years when his seat of Uraniborg on the island of Hveen was the wonder of all scientific Europe. The press was first established in 1584 and accompanied Brahe into exile in 1597; seven dated products of it are enumerated by Hr. Nielsen, comprising astronomical works of Brahe and two of his friends, and Brahe used to send out presentation copies of his own tracts bound in vellum, with his portrait and arms stamped on the covers. The author and editor Anders Sørensen Vedel inspected the office when on a visit to Uraniborg in 1586 and was so much interested that he eventually set up a similar press on his estate near Ribe, where it worked from 1591 to 1593; practically all its products were composed by Vedel himself, and though of modest dimensions compared with those of Brahe they included the first edition (1591) of the 'Hundred select Danish Ballads' which exercised on Danish literature an influence comparable to that of Percy's 'Reliques' on English.   V. S.

Handbuch der Bibliographie. Von GEORG SCHNEIDER. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1923. pp. xvi, 544.

IN this work the author, who is an Oberbibliothekar in the Prussian State Library at Berlin, undertakes to set forth ' the ' names, forms and species of bibliographies and in special the ' principles on which they are to be compiled, comprising the ' collection, drafting and arrangement of the entries '. He has wisely confined himself to the main essentials as suggested to him by his practical experience, without allowing himself to be lost in a mass of detail, and has succeeded in producing

a very readable essay, distinguished by sound common sense and an open mind. The theoretical part is followed by a catalogue raisonné of the most important bibliographies in every department of library work, which forms a very useful compendium. The information appears to be well up to date and accurate on the whole, but there are regrettable lapses in the account of the Bibliographical Society, which did not publish 'Bibliographica'. The strangely misleading form 'St. Jean Climaque' is given to the name of the author of the first book alleged to have been printed in Mexico, and the impression is conveyed that George Thomason was the cataloguer of the collection of tracts bearing his name in the British Museum. There are copious indices.   V. S.

The Library of Edmund Gosse : being a descriptive and bibliographical cata-logue of a portion of his collection. Compiled by E. H. M. Cox. With an intro-ductory essay by Mr. Gosse. Dulau & Co. pp. 300. 18*s.* net.

MR. GOSSE's library has already been catalogued for the admiration of his friends, but it has continued to grow, and this new version, obtainable by all and sundry willing to pay the price, should not fail to find purchasers. In 'An Essay in Apology' he recounts the story of the collection with interesting reminiscences of his recreations as a 'transcriber' at the British Museum, and stories of his early purchases. He tells us that until he left it in 1875 for the Board of Trade, the resources of the Museum and a subscription at Mudie's sufficed his needs as a reader, so that he might have gone through life 'without a volume' in his possession. Yet six years earlier he had already bought the 1859 edition of Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, with the second of 1868, and committed the cruel error of having them ' bound ' by an ignorant binder, who stripped off the priceless brown-' paper covers and cropped the virgin pages ', so that (a little too despondently) he calls the volume ' the saddest in my

library '. When no longer able to browse (surreptitiously) on the old plays in the British Museum, Mr. Gosse found himself able to buy fine examples of his favourite Restoration drama- tists at a maximum of half-a-crown apiece, and first editions of Massinger, Ford, and Shirley for ten shillings. Though his half-crowns and half-sovereigns were none too numerous he made good use of these opportunities of the 'seventies (partly under the guidance of Lord De Tabley), and his sets of the chief poets and dramatists of the Restoration period bear witness to his success. In later and wealthier days he has plainly continued to buy here and there to please his tastes, but outside his early acquisitions the most notable books in his library have come to him mainly by gifts. Some of these have been of old editions, notably the volume of Massinger's plays with the dramatist's autograph corrections, of which, in the present number of *The Library*, Dr. Greg has shown the importance to students of the transmission of dramatic texts. More often the gifts have been presentation copies of works by Mr. Gosse's friends, enriched with interest- ing, and sometimes intimate, inscriptions in prose or verse. Matthew Arnold, Mr. and Mrs. Asquith, Lord Balfour, Sir J. M. Barrie, Aubrey Beardsley, Max Beerbohm, A. C. Benson, Robert Bridges, Joseph Conrad, John Davidson, Austin Dobson (numerously), John Drinkwater, Thomas Hardy (another large contributor), Maurice Hewlett, O. W. Holmes, W. D. Howells, Henry James, Lionel Johnson, Rudyard Kipling, Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, Frederick Locker, P. B. Marston, Theophile Marzials (another Museum transcriber, who writes in his *Passionate Dowsabella*, 1872, ' little Gossie from Theo '), John Masefield, George Moore, and H. A. J. Munro are among the authors with names in the first half of the alphabet who helped to build up Mr. Gosse's library in this pleasing way, and of such testi- monies of affection he has every right to be proud. Mr. Cox,

in compiling this catalogue, has rightly made the presentation inscriptions the chief feature in his notes. For the earlier books he has also given collations by signatures, which are surely unnecessary in a catalogue of this kind, and do not atone for the omission of the names of publishers in the case of the later books. As a frontispiece to the volume there is a portrait of Mr. Gosse.   A. W. P.

Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies. By IOLO A. WILLIAMS. Dulau & Co. pp. 244. 18*s.* net.

MR. WILLIAMS's seven bibliographies (of Armstrong, Shenstone, Akenside, Collins, Goldsmith, Churchill, and Sheridan) show careful work and sound judgement, and he has set himself to awaken interest in the five lesser men by prefixing to his bibliographies brief biographical and critical essays, which are freshly and pleasantly written. He confesses in his ' foreword ' that some books which ought to have been described have eluded his search. Some of these may, indeed, be ghosts, and of others the attribution to one of his seven is not beyond doubt ; but there are some which seem really to have existed, such as a pamphlet by Akenside containing his ode on the Summer and Winter Solstice, of which all that can be said is that they cannot at present be traced. An example of Mr. Williams's good sense is his refusal to try to divide the first editions of *The Good Natur'd Man* and *She Stoops to Conquer* into issues capable of being arranged chronologically. There are different states of many of the sheets, but (as in the case of *King Lear*) sheets in earlier and later states were stitched together at haphazard, and of the plays as wholes no first and second issue can be distinguished. It may be questioned whether he should not have applied the same principle to *The Deserted Village*, for which he recognizes two issues distinguished by the readings ' tyrant's head ' and ' tyrant's hand ' in line 37. To use an argument of his

own, if any one had bought twelve copies on the day of publication might he not have found both variants in his dozen, and if so can they be reasonably treated as constituting first and second issues. Surely the most we can say is that some copies of the first edition have the first sheet of text in an earlier ' state ' than others.

Mr. Williams notes that the British Museum does not at present possess a complete set of the first editions of any one of the writers dealt with in these seven bibliographies. As regards Shenstone the deficiency seems to be rather of variant issues (or ' states ' !) than of editions, and this seems the case also as to Armstrong, unless the lacking first edition is that of the *Muncher's and Guzzler's Diary*, which Armstrong asserted that he had printed in 1748, but of which Mr. Williams writes ' this may, indeed, never have existed '. For the other writers the deficiencies are more serious, as they are also for Shakespeare. Mr. Williams's point is that in eighteenth-century writers the deficiencies may be more easily supplied, and that now is the time. Perhaps it may be mentioned that in the past specialists have helped the Museum by drawing the attention of some one on the staff to dealers' catalogues offering opportunities of filling gaps. When some care is taken, this is rather a good kind of help.   A. W. P.

The Road-books and Itineraries of Great Britain 1570 to 1850. A catalogue with an introduction and a bibliography. By Sir HERBERT GEORGE FORDHAM. Cambridge University Press, 1924. 4°, pp. xvi, 72. 500 copies for sale. 7s. 6d. net.

MANY of our readers will remember Sir George Fordham's paper as it was printed in our *Transactions* in 1916. Subsequent research, we are told, as regards the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has produced little ; the insertions being mainly of titles of local guides and itineraries connected with the development of fashionable bathing and sea-side centres,

such as Bath, Bristol, Tunbridge Wells, Brighton, and Cheltenham. In the period, however, of the publication of the first Tables of Highways, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, additions of considerable interest for the study of systematic travel in this country have now been made, carrying back the history of British Road-Books to as early as 1570.

Specimen of Types in General Use at the Condé Nast Press, with a foreword on types and type specimens by DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. Greenwich, Connecticut: Condé Nast Press, 1923.

MR. MCMURTRIE's foreword begins rather unhappily with an ornamental capital set in a ' river ' surmounted by the usual bridge, and on the same page there is an unlucky reference to Erhard Ratdolt having printed ' later ' at Venice than at Augsburg ; but his review of his foundry's founts of type ends with two admirable paragraphs :

In assembling the equipment of type shown in this specimen the effort has been to have few types but have them good, and where a new series was added to obtain all the sizes available. This makes it possible for a compositor to set any job throughout in the same face, a rule of good printing more honoured in the breach than in the observance. A few good faces, an ample supply of them available in all sizes, and lastly—but far from least—the ability to use them well —these are the real essentials of a successful composing room.

Not all of the founts attract us. Some of the ' bold ' varieties are the least to our liking, but the general level is high, and the wealth of sizes is very noteworthy. Thus in Caslon types there are nineteen roman and thirteen italics, and in several founts there are eleven of each. The trouble is that in almost every fount there is one size, sometimes large, sometimes small, which shows its characteristic features to especial advantage, and the eclectic buyer finds himself tempted to secure what he considers the best of each, to the destruction of the unity of his page, unless he has a genius for special combinations.